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THE
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS

BLAIR
and
ROBERTSON

XVI
1609

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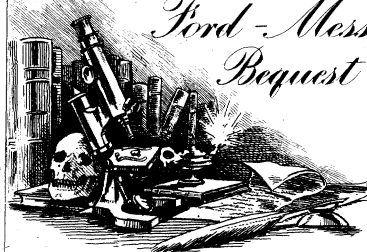
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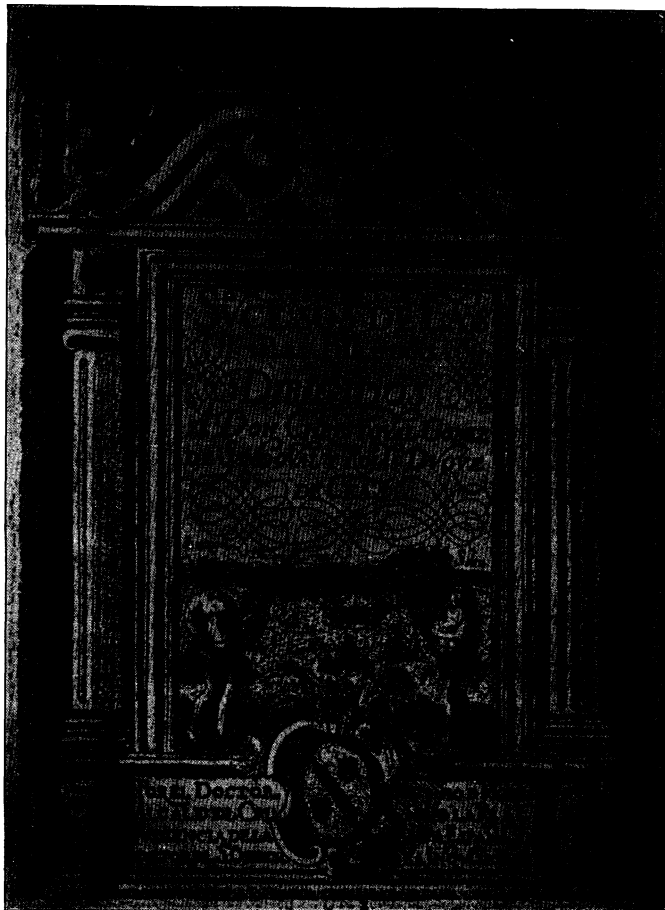


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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898



The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and
JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD
BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume XVI—1609



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Cleveland, Ohio
MCMIV

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PREFACE

In the present volume is concluded the notable work by Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, which was begun in VOL. XV. The reader is referred to the preface of that volume for some account of the book, and of the manner in which it is presented in this series. Another book notable in the history of the Philippines is that of Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Molucas* (Madrid, 1609). In presenting here this work, the Editors follow the plan which proves to be more or less necessary with many of the printed early histories of the islands – that of translating in full only such parts of the book as relate directly to the Philippines, and are of especial value or importance; and furnishing a brief synopsis of all matter omitted, in order that the reader may survey the book as a whole, and understand the relations and connections of the parts that are presented in full with those that are synopsized. This method is rendered necessary by the limitations of this series in regard to space, especially as most of the old histories – as Aduarte's, San Agustin's, and La Concepción's – are exceedingly voluminous; and, moreover, devote much space to the affairs of Japan, China, and other countries outside the Philippines. All matter of this sort must of course, be omitted; and much of what

remains is more useful for annotations, or is relatively unimportant for publication. The Editors consider, as do many other persons interested in this series, that it is desirable to present (especially in the early period of the Philippine history) the larger part of these documents from the manuscript and hitherto unpublished material largely conserved in foreign archives; and that the needs of students and investigators will thus be better served than by occupying the valuable and limited space of this series with complete translations of books which can be found in large American libraries. The location of all these will be noted, so far as is possible, in the volume devoted to bibliographical information at the end of this series; meanwhile the needs of most readers will be suitably met by the synopses of omitted matter and the free use of such works as those of La Concepción and San Antonio in annotations. The Editors purpose to present a few of these histories, especially in the earlier period, in very full form, so far as they cover Philippine history; for these are original sources, from which later writers obtained much of their material. These methods render this series unusually rich in valuable historical material, all carefully selected, and much of it greatly condensed by the excision of extraneous, irrelevant, and unimportant matter. The parts thus omitted and synopsized will be, as heretofore, indicated by enclosing the synopses in brackets.

Continuing his narrative, Morga describes his voyage to Mexico, whither he goes (1603) to be a member of the Audiencia there. He then relates the events of the Chinese uprising in Luzón in that year,

which has been fully described in previous volumes of this series; and his picturesque although plain narrative casts new light upon that episode. Many Spaniards in Manila are so alarmed by this danger that they remove, with all their households and property, to Nueva España; but one of the ships carrying them is lost at sea, and the other is compelled, after great injury and loss, to return to Manila – a serious calamity for the colony there. The governor does his best to fortify the city, and reinforcements and supplies are provided for him from Nueva España. Bishop Benavides dies (1605). Friars from the islands go to Japan, but the emperor of that country is offended at their preaching, and advises Acuña to restrain them. In the summer of 1605 arrive supplies and men from Nueva España, and Acuña proceeds with his preparations for the expedition against the Dutch in the Moluccas. In the following spring he sets out on this enterprise, conducting it in person; Morga describes this naval campaign in detail. Ternate is captured by the Spaniards without bombardment, and with little loss to themselves. The fugitive king of the island is persuaded to surrender to the Spaniards and become a vassal of Felipe. Several other petty rulers follow his example and promise not to allow the Dutch to engage in the clove trade. Acuña builds a new fort there, and another in Tidore, leaving Juan de Esquivel as governor of the Moluccas, with a garrison and several vessels for their defense, and carrying to Manila the king of Ternate and many of his nobles, as hostages. During Acuña's absence a mutiny occurs among the Japanese near Manila, which is quelled mainly by the influence of the friars.

The governor dies, apparently from poison, soon after his return to Manila. The trade of the islands is injured by the restrictions laid upon it by the home government; and the reduction of Ternate has not sufficed to restrain the Moro pirates. The natives of the Moluccas are uneasy and rebellious, especially as they have a prospect of aid from the Dutch, who are endeavoring to regain their lost possessions there. Morga cites a letter from a Spanish officer at La Palma, recounting the purpose and outcome of van Noordt's expedition to the Indian archipelago.

The historical part of Morga's account ends here; and the final chapter is devoted to a description of the islands and their people, the customs and religious beliefs of the natives, and the condition at that time of the Spanish colony and the city of Manila. He describes the principal islands of the Philippine group, beginning with Luzón; the various races of inhabitants – Moros, Negritos, and Visayans: their mode of dress, their occupations and industries, their habits of life; their weapons, their ships and boats; the trees and fruits of the islands; the animals and birds, both wild and tame; the reptiles, fishes, and other creatures; and various plants. Among these is the buyo (or betel); the habit of chewing it has become universal among the Spaniards, of all classes, and poison is often administered through its medium. Various means and methods of poisoning are described, as well as some antidotes therefor. Some account is given of the gold mines and pearl fisheries, and of other products of the country which form articles of commerce. Morga describes the two great lakes of Luzón (Bombon and Bai), Manila and its harbor and approaches, and other principal ports,

with some neighboring islands; and gives some account of the Visayan people and the larger islands inhabited by them, and of the tides in the archipelago. Then follows an interesting and detailed account of the Filipino peoples, their language, customs, beliefs, etc. The language used in Luzón and other northern islands is different from that of the Visayas; but all the natives write, expressing themselves fluently and correctly, and using a simple alphabet which resembles the Arabic. Their houses, and their mode of life therein, are fully described; also their government, social organization, and administration of justice. The classes and status of slaves, and the causes of enslavement are recounted. Their customs in marriages and dowries, divorces, adoption, and inheritance are described; also in usury, trading, and punishment for crimes. The standard of social purity is described by Morga as being very low; yet infamous vices were not indigenous with them, but communicated by foreigners, especially by the Chinese. The natives of Luzón appear to be superior, both intellectually and morally, to the Visayan peoples. Their religious beliefs and practices are recounted by Morga, who naturally ascribes these to the influence of the devil. He also narrates the entrance of Mahometanism into the islands, and how it was checked by the coming of the Spaniards.

Morga next sketches the condition at that time of Spanish colonies in the islands. He describes the city of Manila in detail, with its fortifications, arsenals, government and municipal buildings, cathedral, and convents; also the seminary of Santa Potenciana, and the hospitals. There are six hundred houses,

mostly built of stone, within the walls, and even more in the suburbs; "and all are the habitations and homes of Spaniards." All the people, both men and women, are clad and gorgeously adorned in silks; and nowhere is there greater abundance of food, and of other necessities of human life, than in Manila. Morga enumerates the dignitaries, ecclesiastical and civil, who reside in the city; and mentions it as the center and metropolis of the archipelago. He then briefly describes the other Spanish settlements in the Philippines; and mentions in their turn the various orders and their work there, with the number of laborers in each. He praises their efforts for the conversion, education, and social improvement of the Indians. He defines the functions of both the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities, and the policy of the government toward the natives; and describes the application and results in the Philippines of the *encomienda* system imported thither from America. He deprecates the permission given to the Indians for paying their tributes in kind or in money, at their option; for it has led to their neglecting their former industries, and thus to the general damage of the country. Slavery still exists among them, but the Spaniards have been forbidden to enslave the natives. Personal services of various sorts are due from the latter, however, to their *encomenderos*, to the religious, and to the king, for all of which they receive a moderate wage; and all other services for the Spaniards are voluntary and paid. Close restrictions are laid upon the intercourse of the Spaniards with natives. Various information is given regarding appointments to office, *residencias*, elections, town government, and finances; also of the

ecclesiastical organization, expenses, and administration, as well as of the incomes of the religious orders. Morga recounts the numbers, character, pay, and organization of the military and naval forces in the islands. The bulk of the citizens are merchants and traders, commerce being the chief occupation and support of the Spanish colony. Manila is a market for all the countries of Eastern Asia, from Japan to Borneo. The China trade is restricted to the inhabitants of the Philippines; Morga describes its nature and extent, and the manner in which it is conducted, as well as the character and methods of the Chinese traders. A similar account is given of the trade carried on with the Philippines by the Japanese, Borneans, and other neighboring peoples, and of the shipment to Nueva España of the goods thus procured. This last commerce is "so great and profitable, and easy to control, that the Spaniards do not apply themselves to, or engage in, any other industry," and thus not only they neglect to avail themselves of and develop the natural resources of the country, but the natives are neglecting and forgetting their former industries; and the supply of silver in the country steadily flows out of it and into the hands of infidels. Morga enumerates the officials, revenues, and expenditures of the colonial government. As its income is too small for its necessary expenses, the annual deficit is made up from the royal treasury of Nueva España. But this great expense is incurred "only for the Christianization and conversion of the natives, for the hopes of greater fruits in other kingdoms and provinces of Asia."

The large extent of the Chinese immigration to the islands is disapproved by Morga, as unsafe to the

Spaniards and injurious to the natives. Some Chinese are needed for the service of the Spaniards, for all the trades are carried on by them; but the number of Chinese allowed to live in the islands should be restricted to those who are thus needed. Morga describes the character, dress, mode of life, and settlements of the Chinese near Manila; they are cared for in religious matters by the Dominican friars. The Christian Chinese live apart from the heathens, in a settlement of some five hundred people; Morga has but a poor opinion of even these converts. Some account is also given of the Japanese who have settled in Manila; Morga commends them, and states that they prove to be good Christians.

He ends his work by a detailed account of the navigation and voyage to and from the Philippines. The Mexican port of departure for this route has been removed from Navidad to Acapulco. Morga describes the westward voyage; the stop at the Ladrone Islands, and the traffic of the natives with the ships; and the route thence, and among the Philippine Islands. The return route to Mexico is much more difficult and dangerous; for the winds are varying and not always favorable, and the ship must change its course more frequently, and go far north to secure favoring winds, there encountering cold weather. These severe changes cause much suffering, and even death; and the vessel makes this voyage without once touching land until it reaches Acapulco, a period of five or six months. Morga also describes the voyage to Spain by way of Goa and the Cape of Good Hope, which also is long and dangerous.

Argensola writes a history of "the conquest of the

Malucas," and begins by describing the islands thus named, their inhabitants, and the customs, mode of dress, and language of the people. He relates the current stories of their origin and of their early intercourse with Occidental peoples, mainly through the spice trade. The earlier expeditions of the Portuguese to the Moluccas arouse the hostility of the natives; and so much difficulty and expense to the government is thus occasioned that his councilors advise Felipe II to abandon the Philippines and Moluccas, as not worth so much cost. This he refuses to do, on account of the necessity and duty of converting the pagans in those lands – a decision confirmed also by Felipe III. Argensola enumerates the various arguments pro and con regarding the retention of the islands by Spain, which he justifies for the sake of converting the heathen. The points thus far given are those of the brief synopsis which results from our examination of books i-iv in the *Conquista*. Turning to book v, we find a brief outline of the conquest of the Philippines by Legazpi, their peoples, their chief products, and their fauna. The expedition of Peñalosa to conquer Ternate is described; it proves a failure, for various causes. The king of Spain sends the "invincible armada" against England (1588), desiring to check the inroads of Northern heretics against Spanish commerce in the Orient; but that fleet is defeated and dispersed. Santiago de Vera also sends an expedition against Ternate, but it also is a failure. One of the princes of that island asks for Spanish aid to gain its royalty for himself – offering, in return, to become a vassal of Spain; but his death prevents any further arrangement of this sort. Gomez Perez Dasmariñas under-

takes an expedition for the conquest of the Moluccas, of which and of his tragic end a full account is given in book vi, furnishing much interesting information thereon which is not elsewhere to be obtained. Dasmariñas drafts rowers from among the Filipino natives and the Chinese, by force; this causes much resentment among them. He obtains full reports of affairs in the Moluccas, and advice regarding the conduct of the campaign, from the Jesuits in those islands. Dasmariñas sets out on this expedition (October 17, 1594), his own galley being manned by Chinese rowers. These, being harshly treated, mutiny, and murder all the Spaniards on the galley save two (October 25), a friar and the governor's secretary. The governor's death renders necessary the appointment of a temporary successor to his office; this is his son, Luis Perez Dasmariñas. The murderers return to Luzón, with armed vessels, hoping to find the country defenseless and conquer it; but the forces at Manila are sufficient to overawe the Chinese.

At this juncture, Langara, king of Camboja, asks for aid from the Spaniards; and Dasmariñas sends for this purpose an expedition under command of Gallinato. The Spaniards slay the usurper of the Cambojan throne; this dignity is offered to Gallinato, but he refuses it, and Ruiz and Velloso replace the rightful heir on the throne. Dasmariñas himself undertakes another expedition to Camboja, at his own cost; but he is driven by storms to the Chinese coast, some of his ships are wrecked, and another is destroyed, with most of its crew, by Malays at Camboja. These disasters put an end, for the time, to any further attempts against Ternate.

Argensola relates the exploits of Figueroa and his

successors in subduing the Mindanaos, who are aided by the king of Ternate, as being in a sense his vassals. Felipe II dies (1598), and for a time the affairs of Moluccas are neglected. Book vii mainly relates to Dutch voyages to the Eastern Archipelago; the presence of the Dutch encourages the Ternatans to keep up their resistance to the Spaniards and Portuguese. Governor Acuña arrives in the Philippines (May, 1602), and for some time is occupied with the internal affairs of the colony and the establishment of amicable relations with the Japanese. These matters being settled, he turns his mind toward the conquest of the Moluccas; and he coöperates with the expedition under Furtado de Mendoza, which had been sent for this purpose from India. The combined fleets meet with temporary successes at Ternate, but are finally compelled to abandon the undertaking. The home government finally decides that it must be again and effectively prosecuted; and that Acuña himself shall conduct another expedition against the Moluccas. The royal decree for this (dated June 20, 1604) is given in full.

Argensola relates the great fire in Manila and the Chinese insurrection, both in 1603; he gives some information thereon which is not found in other accounts. This revolt, although quelled, causes great disturbance of business and industry, and much want and distress, in Manila, which had so largely been dependent upon its Chinese population. Soon afterward reënforcements and supplies are received there from Mexico. In February, 1605, a Dutch fleet appears in the Eastern archipelago, and captures Amboina and Tidore. Portuguese fugitives from Tidore inform Acuña of the purpose of the Dutch to

attack the galleons on the Mexican route and perhaps other Spanish interests; and to drive out the Spaniards from that quarter of the world. He immediately sends more men to the garrisons in the Pintados, and takes other precautions. The arrival of numerous reënforcements at Manila encourages him and checks the insolence of surrounding peoples. The Dutch aid the Ternatans, while Acuña makes vigorous preparations for the expedition to be made against these foes. He sails with over three thousand men, in thirty-six vessels, from Iloilo on January 5, 1606. The flagship is wrecked at La Caldera; the other vessels mistake their course, and do not reach the Moluccas until late in March. They besiege Ternate, and finally carry it by assault; the city and fort are pillaged by the soldiers. Afterward the king is induced to surrender and Acuña makes a treaty with him. The king surrenders his forts and restores all captives; delivers up any Dutchmen or Spanish renegades who may be in Ternate; and gives up the villages of Christian natives in adjacent islands. Acuña leaves a strong garrison in Ternate, and carries the king and other captives to Manila. A few weeks after his return, Acuña dies – by poison, according to popular rumor.

To this volume is appended (apropos of an allusion by Morga) an interesting account of the ancient customs observed by the natives of Pampanga in the administration of justice. These differed, according to the social status of the parties concerned, and the kind of crime; but, in general, certain fixed amounts were paid as the penalties for most crimes, and in some cases the penalty was life for life. If the culprit could not pay the fine, he was usually sold

as a slave. Parricide and infanticide were apparently unknown among them. Marriages, divorces, inheritances, enslavements, disputes, etc., are all considered in this account, obtained by the Franciscan Juan de Plasencia from the natives.

THE EDITORS

June, 1904.

SUCESOS DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS

(concluded)

By Dr. Antonio de Morga. Mexico: at the shop of
Geronymo Balli in the year 1609; printed by
Cornelio Adriano Cesar.

SOURCE: The translation is made from the Harvard copy of
the original printed work.

TRANSLATION: This is made by Alfonso de Salvio, Norman
F. Hall, and James Alexander Robertson.

EVENTS IN THE FILIPINAS ISLANDS.¹

CHAPTER SEVENTH (concluded)

On the tenth [of July]² of the same year, the vessels "Espiritu-Santo" and "Jesus Maria" left the port of Cabit en route for Nueva España – in the wake of two smaller vessels, which had been despatched a fortnight before – with the Filipinas merchandise. Don Lope de Ulloa was their commander, while Doctor Antonio de Morga left those islands in the almiranta, the "Santo Espiritu," to fill the office of alcalde of the court of Mexico. Before leaving the bay, both vessels were struck head on by a storm, and went dragging upon the coast, buffeted by the heavy seas and winds, and amid dark and tempestuous weather, from three in the afternoon until morn-

¹ Following in a translation of the title-page of the other edition of Morga's work, which shows that a second edition of the *Sucesos* was published in the same year as was the first. A reduced facsimile of this title-page – from the facsimile reproduction in the Zaragoza edition (Madrid, 1887) – forms the frontispiece to the present volume. It reads thus: "Events in the Philipinas Islands: addressed to Don Christoval Gomez de Sandoval y Rojas, duke de Cea, by Doctor Antonio de Morga, alcalde of criminal causes in the royal Audiencia of Nueva España, and consultor for the Holy Office of the Inquisition. At Mexico in the Indias, in the year 1609." In the lower left-hand corner of the engraved title appears the engraver's name: "Samuel Estradanus, of Antwerp, made this."

² The month is omitted in the text.— STANLEY.

ing of the next day, notwithstanding that they were anchored with two heavy cables in the shelter of the land, and their topmasts struck. Then they grounded upon the coast, in La Pampanga, ten leguas from Manila. The storm lasted for three more consecutive days. Consequently it was regarded as impossible for those vessels to sail and make their voyage, inasmuch as the season was now well advanced, and the vessels were very large and heavily laden, and were deeply imbedded in the sand. Advice was immediately sent overland to Manila, whence were brought several Chinese ships, cables, and anchors. By dint of the great efforts exerted, both vessels, each singly, were fitted with tackle and cables, which were rigged at the stern. There awaiting the high tide, the ships were drawn, by force of capstan and men, stern first for more than one legua through a bank of sand, upon which they had struck, until they were set afloat, on the twenty-second of July, St. Magdalen's day. Immediately they set sail again, as the vessels had sustained no injury, nor sprung any leak; and they made their voyage and navigation, under light winds, to the coast of Nueva España. A violent south-south-west gale, accompanied by heavy showers, hail, and cold, struck the ship "Espíritu Sancto" on the tenth of November, in forty-two degrees, and within sight of land. The wind was blowing obliquely toward the shore, upon which the vessel was almost wrecked several times. The vessel suffered distress and lost its rigging, while the crew was worn out by the voyage and with the cold. The storm lasted until November twenty-second. On the morning of that day, while the ship was in the trough of the waves, and with topmasts shipped, it was struck by a squall of rain and

hail, accompanied by great darkness. A thunderbolt, descending the mainmast, struck the vessel amidships. It killed three men besides wounding and maiming eight others; it had entered the hatches, and torn open the mainhatch, with a blaze of light, so that the interior of the ship could be seen. Another thunderbolt fell down along the same mast among the entire crew, and stunned sixteen persons, some of whom were speechless and unconscious all that day. It left the vessel by the pump-dale. The next day, the wind veered to north-northeast, whereupon the ship set sail, and went coasting along the land, with sufficient winds until the nineteenth of the month of December, when it made port at Acapulco. There were found the two smaller vessels that had sailed first from Manila. Three days later, General Don Lope de Ulloa entered the same port of Acapulco, in the ship "Jesus Maria." That vessel had sustained the same storms as the ship "Espiritu Sancto." From the time when the two vessels had separated, on sailing out of the channel of Capul, in the Filipinas Islands, they had not sighted one another again during the entire voyage.

In the same year six hundred and three, Governor Don Pedro de Acuña sent the ship "Sanctiago" from Manila to Japon, with merchandise. It was ordered to make its voyage to Quanto, in order to comply with the desire and wish of Daifusama. As news had been already received of the death of Fray Geronimo de Jesus, four of the most important religious of his order in Manila – namely, Fray Diego de Bermeo ^{2*}

^{2*} Fray Diego Bermeo, a native of Toledo, became a Franciscan friar; and in 1580 went to Mexico, and three years later to the Philippines. After spending many years as a missionary in Luzón

(who had been provincial), Fray Alonso de la Madre de Dios, Fray Luys Sotello,³ and one other associate – sailed on that vessel for the said kingdom.

As soon as the ships “Jesus Maria” and “Espiritu Sancto” sailed for Nueva España, and the ship “Sanctiago” with the religious for Japon, there was more time to discuss further the matter started by the coming of the Chinese mandarins. For finding themselves unoccupied with other matters, fear of the Sangleys became universal, and the suspicions that were current that the Sangleys were about to commit some mischievous outbreak. This the archbishop and some religious affirmed and told, publicly and privately. At this time, a considerable number of Chinese were living in Manila and its environs. Some of them were baptized Christians living in the settlements of Baibai and Minondoc,⁴ on the other

and Mindoro, he was elected provincial of his order in the islands (in 1599, and again in 1608). Going to Japan as commissary provincial – in 1603, according to Morga, but 1604 as given by Huerta (*Estado*, p. 446) – he was obliged by severe illness to return to Manila; he died there on December 12, 1609.

³ Luis Sotelo, belonging to an illustrious family of Sevilla, made his profession as a Franciscan in 1594. Joining the Philippine mission, he reached the islands in 1600; and he spent the next two years in ministering to the Japanese near Manila, and in the study of their language. In 1603 he went to Japan, where he zealously engaged in missionary labors. Ten years later, he was sentenced to death for preaching the Christian religion; but was freed from this danger by Mazamune, king of Boxu, who sent the Franciscan as his ambassador to Rome and Madrid. Returning from this mission, Sotelo arrived in the Philippines in 1618, and four years later resumed his missionary labors in Japan. In 1622 he was again imprisoned for preaching, and was confined at Omura for two years, during which time he wrote several works, in both the Spanish and Japanese languages. Sotelo was finally burned at the stake in Omura, August 25, 1624. See Huerta's *Estado*, pp. 392-394.

⁴ The present towns of San Nicolás, San Fernando, etc., lying between Binondo and the sea.—RIZAL.

side of the river, opposite the city. Most of them were infidels, occupied and living in these same settlements and in the shops of the *parián* in the city; [they were employed] as merchants and in all other occupations. The majority of them were fishermen, stonecutters, charcoal-burners, porters, masons, and day-laborers. Greater security was always felt in regard to the merchants, for they are the better class of people, and those who are most interested, because of their property. So great security was not felt about the others, even though they were Christians; because, as they are a poor and covetous people, they would be inclined to any act of meanness. However, it was always thought that it would be difficult for them to cause any commotion, unless a strong fleet came from China, on which they could rely. Talk continued to increase daily, and with it suspicion; for some of the Chinese themselves, both infidels and Christians, in order to prove themselves friends of the Spaniards, and clean from all guilt, even told the Spaniards that there was to be an insurrection shortly, and other similar things. Although the governor always considered these statements as fictions and the exaggerations of that nation, and did not credit them, yet he was not so heedless that he did not act cautiously and watch, although with dissembling, for whatever might happen. He took pains to have the city guarded and the soldiers armed, besides flattering the most prominent of the Chinese and the merchants, whom he assured of their lives and property. The natives of La Pampanga and other provinces near by were instructed beforehand to supply the city with rice and other provisions, and to come to reënforce it with

their persons and arms, should necessity arise. The same was done with some Japanese in the city. As all this was done with some publicity, since it could not be done secretly, as so many were concerned, one and all became convinced of the certainty of the danger. Many even desired it, in order to see the peace disturbed, and to have the opportunity to seize something.⁵ From that time, both in the city and its environs, where the Sangleys were living scattered, these people began to persecute the Sangleys by word and deed. The natives, Japanese and soldiers of the camp took from them their possessions and inflicted on them other ill-treatment, calling them dogs and traitors, and saying that they knew well that they meant to rebel. But they said they would kill all the Sangleys first, and that very soon, for the governor was preparing for it. This alone was sufficient to make it necessary for the Sangleys to do what they had no intention of doing.⁶ Some of the most clever and covetous set themselves to rouse the courage of the others, and to make themselves leaders, telling the Sangleys that their destruction was sure, according to the determination which they saw in the Spaniards, unless they should anticipate the latter, since they [the Sangleys] were so numerous, and attack and capture the city. They said that it would not be difficult for them to kill the Spaniards, seize their

⁵ This remark of Morga can be applied to many other insurrections that occurred later—not only of Chinese, but also of natives—and probably even to many others which, in the course of time, will be contrived.—RIZAL.

⁶ These devices, of which certain persons always avail themselves to cause a country to rebel, are the most efficacious to bring such movements to a head. “If thou wishest thy neighbor’s dog to become mad, publish that it is mad,” says an old refrain.—RIZAL.

possessions; and become masters of the country, with the aid and reënforcements that would immediately come to them from China, as soon as the auspicious beginning that they would have made in the matter should be known. In order to do this when the time came, it was advisable to build a fort and quarters in some retired and strong place near the city, where the people could gather and unite, and where arms and supplies could be provided for the war. At least such a fort would be sufficient to assure there their lives from the outrages that they were expecting from the Spaniards. It was learned that the chief mover in this matter was a Christian Sangley, an old-time resident in the country, named Joan Bautista de Vera.⁷ He was rich and highly esteemed by the Spaniards, and feared and respected by the Sangleys. He had often been governor of the latter, and had many godchildren and dependents. He had become an excellent Spaniard, and was courageous. He himself, exercising duplicity and cunning, did not leave the city, or the houses of the Spanish during this time, in order to arouse less suspicion of himself. From there he managed the affair through his confidants; and in order to assure himself better of the result, and to ascertain the number of men of his race, and to make a census and list of them, he cunningly had each of them ordered to bring him a needle, which he pretended to be necessary for a certain work that he had to do. These needles he placed, as he received them, in a little box; and when he took them out of it, he found that he had sufficient men for his purpose. They began to construct the fort or quarters imme-

⁷ This is the famous Eng-Kang of the histories of Filipinas.—RIZAL.

diately at a distance of slightly more than one-half legua from the village of Tondo, among some estuaries and swamps, and in a hidden location.⁸ They stored there some rice and other provisions, and weapons of little importance. The Sangleys began to gather there, especially the masses – the common people and day-laborers; for those of the *parián*, and the mechanics, although urged to do the same, did not resolve to do it, and remained quiet, guarding their houses and property. The restlessness of the Sangleys daily continued to become more inflamed. This, and the advices given to the governor and the Spaniards, kept the latter more anxious and apprehensive, and made them talk more openly of the matter. The Sangleys, seeing that their intention was discovered, and that delay might be of so great harm to them, determined, although the insurrection was planned for St. Andrew's day, the last of November, to anticipate that day, and to lose no more time. On Friday, the third day of the month of October, the eve of St. Francis, they collected very hurriedly in the above-mentioned fort; consequently, by nightfall, there were two thousand men in it. Joan Bautista de Vera – a thief in the rôle of an honest man, since he was the leader and organizer of the treason – went immediately to the city and told the governor that the Sangleys had risen, and that they were collecting on the other side of the river. The governor, suspecting the mischief, had him immediately arrested and carefully guarded; and he was afterward

⁸ The Rizal edition of Morga omits the last part of this sentence, the original of which is "*entre unos efteros y cienagas, lugar escondido.*"

executed. Then, without tap of drum, the governor ordered the companies, both of the camp and the city, to be notified, and all to hold their arms in readiness. Very shortly after nightfall, Don Luys Dasmariñas, who was living near the monastery and church of Minondoc, on the other side of the river, came hurriedly to the city to advise the governor that the Sangleys had revolted. He asked for twenty soldiers to go to the other side [of the river], where he would guard the said monastery. Cristoval de Axqueta, sargento-mayor of the camp, went with these men, together with Don Luys. As the silence of night deepened, the noise made by the Sangleys grew louder, for they were continuing to assemble and were sounding horns and other instruments, after their fashion. Don Luys remained to guard the monastery, with the men brought from Manila, where he had placed in shelter many women and children of Christian Sangleys, with the religious. The sargento-mayor returned immediately to the city, where he told of what was being done. The call to arms was sounded, for the noise and shouts of the Sangleys, who had sallied out to set fire to some houses in the country, was so great that it was thought that they were devastating that district. The Sangleys burned, first, a stone country-house belonging to Captain Estevan de Marquina. The latter was living there with his wife and children; and none of them escaped, except a little girl, who was wounded, but who was hidden in a thicket.⁹ Thence the San-

⁹ "The Chinese killed father Fray Bernardo de Santo Catalina, agent of the holy office, of the order of St. Dominic. . . . They attacked Quiapo, and after killing about twenty people, set fire to it. Among these they burned alive a woman of rank, and a boy."—RIZAL. This citation is made from Leonardo de Argen-

gleys went to the settlement of Laguio,¹⁰ situated on the shore of the river, and burned it. They killed several Indians of that settlement, and the rest fled to the city. There the gates were already shut and all the people, with arms in hand, manned the walls and other suitable posts, ready for any emergency, until dawn. The enemy, who now had a greater number of men, retired to their fort, to make another sally thence with more force. Don Luys Dasmariñas, who was guarding the church and monastery of Minondoc, expected hourly that the enemy was about to attack him, and sent a messenger to the governor to beg for more men. These were sent him, and consisted of regulars and inhabitants of the city, under Captains Don Tomas Brabo de Acuña (the governor's nephew), Joan de Alcega, Pedro de Arzeo, and Gaspar Perez, by whose counsel and advice Don Luys was to be guided on this occasion. All was confusion, shouting, and outcry in the city, particularly among the Indians, and the women and children, who were coming thither for safety. Although, to make certain of the Sangleys of the parián, their merchants had been asked to come into the city, and bring their property, they did not dare to do so; for they always thought that the enemy would take the city because of their great force of numbers, and an-

sola's *Conquistas de las Molucas* (Madrid, 1609), a synopsis of which will follow Morga's work.

¹⁰ We are unaware of the exact location of this settlement of Laguio. It is probably the present village of Kiapo, which agrees with the text and is mentioned by Argensola. Nevertheless, from the description of this settlement given by Morga (*post*, chapter viii) and Chirino, it can be inferred that Laguio was located on the present site of the suburb of La Concepción. In fact, there is even a street called Laguio between Malate and La Ermita.—RIZAL.

nihilate the Spaniards, and they would all be in danger. Consequently they preferred to remain in their *parián*, in order to join the victorious side. Don Luys Dasmariñas thought it advisable to go in search of the enemy immediately with the reinforcements sent him by the governor, before they should all assemble and present a strong front. He left seventy soldiers in Minondoc, in charge of Gaspar Perez; while with the rest, about one hundred and forty of the best picked arquebusiers, he went to the village of Tondo, in order to fortify himself in the church, a stone building. He arrived there at eleven o'clock in the morning. The Chinese, in number one thousand five hundred, arrived at the same place at the same time, bent on the same purpose. An hour's skirmish took place between the two sides, as to which one would gain the monastery. Captain Gaspar Perez came up with the reinforcement of the men left at Minondoc. The enemy retired to his fort, with a loss of five hundred men. Gaspar Perez returned to his post, where Pedro de Arzeo was also stationed. Don Luys Dasmariñas, exultant over this fortunate engagement, determined immediately to press forward in pursuit of the enemy with his men, notwithstanding the heat of the sun and without waiting to rest his followers. He sent Alferrez Luys de Ybarren to reconnoiter. The latter brought word that the enemy was in great force, and near by. Although Juan de Alcega and others requested Don Luys to halt and rest his men, and await the governor's orders as to what was to be done, his desire not to lose the opportunity was so great that, rousing his men with harsh words, in order to make them follow him, he marched forward until they

reached a swamp. After leaving the swamp, they came suddenly into a large clearing, where the enemy was stationed. The latter, upon seeing the Spaniards, surrounded them in force on all sides, armed with clubs, some with catans, and a few with battle-axes. Don Luys and his men, not being able to retreat, fought valiantly, and killed a number of Sangleys. But finally, as the latter were in so great force, they cut all the Spaniards to pieces, only four of whom escaped, badly wounded; and these carried the news to Manila.¹¹ This result was of great importance to the Sangleys, both because so many and the best Spanish soldiers were killed in this place, and because of the weapons that the Sangleys took from them, and which they needed. With these arms they flattered themselves that their object was more certain of accomplishment. Next day, October five, the Sangleys sent the heads of Don Luys, Don Tomas, Joan de Alcega, and other captains to the parían; and they told the Sangleys there that, since the flower of Manila had been killed, they should revolt and join them, or they would immediately come to kill them. The confusion and grief of the Spaniards in the city was so great that it prevented them from taking the precautions and exercising the diligence demanded by the affair. But the sight of their necessity, and the spirit of their governor and officials made them all remain at their posts on the walls, arms in hand. They fortified as strongly as possible the gates of the parían and of Dilao, and all that part of the wall where the enemy might make an assault. They

¹¹ "Fine helmets were found broken in with clubs. . . . About thirty also escaped (among whom was Father Farfan), who were enabled to do so because of being in the rear, and lightly armed" (Argensola).—RIZAL.

mounted a piece of artillery above each gate, and stationed there the best men, among whom were religious of all the orders. Upon that day, Sunday, the enemy, flushed with the victory of the preceding day and their army swelled by the additional men that joined them, attacked the city. Burning and destroying everything in their path, they went to the river, for there was no vessel with which to resist them, as all those of the fleet were in the provinces of the Pintados. They entered the *parián*,¹² and furiously assaulted the city gate, but were driven back by the arquebuses and muskets, with the loss of many Sangleys. They went to the church of Dilao, and there assaulted the gate and walls (which were there lower), by means of scaling-ladders, with the same determination. But they experienced the same resistance and loss, which compelled them, on the approach of night, to retire with great loss to the *parián* and to Dilao. That whole night the Spaniards spent in guarding their wall, and in preparing for the morrow. The enemy passed the night in the *parián* and at Dilao, making carts, mantelets, scalding-ladders, artificial fire, and other contrivances, for approaching and assaulting the wall, and for burning the gates, and setting fire to everything. At dawn of the next day, Monday, the Sangleys came together with these arms and tools, and having reached the wall with their bravest and best-armed men, attacked it with great fury and resolution. The artillery destroyed their machines, and

¹² Argensola says that the Chinese killed many peaceful merchants in the *parián*, while others hanged themselves of their own accord. Among these Argensola mentions General Hontay and the rich Chican – according to the relation of Fray Juan Pobre, because the latter had refused to place the famous Eng-Kang at the head of the movement.—RIZAL.

caused them so great injury and resistance with it and the arquebuses, that the Sangleys were forced to retire again to the parián and to Dilao, with heavy loss. Joan Xuarez Gallinato, accompanied by some soldiers and a Japanese troop, made a sally from the Dilao gate upon the Sangleys. They reached the church, when the Sangleys turned upon them and threw the Japanese into disorder. The latter were the cause of all retreating again to seek the protection of the walls, whither the Sangleys pursued them. At this juncture Captain Don Luys de Velasco entered Manila. He came from the Pintados in a stout caracoa, manned by some good arquebusiers, while others manned some bancas that sailed in the shelter of the caracoa. They approached the parián and Dilao by the river, and harassed the enemy quartered there on that and the two following days, so that they were compelled to abandon those positions. These vessels set fire to the parián, and burned everything, and pursued the enemy wherever they could penetrate. The Sangleys, upon beholding their cause waning, and their inability to attain the end desired, resolved to retire from the city, after having lost more than four thousand men; to advise China, so that that country would reënforce them; and for their support to divide their men into three divisions in different districts — one among the Tingues of Passic, the second among those of Ayonbon, and the third at La Laguna de Bay, San Pablo, and Batangas. On Wednesday they abandoned the city completely, and, divided as above stated, marched inland. Don Luys de Velasco, with some soldiers and armed Indians who came from all sides to the relief of Manila, accompanied by some Spaniards who guided them, and the religious from

their missions, went by way of the river in pursuit of them, and pressed them, so that they killed and annihilated the bands bound for the Tingues of Passic and for Ayombon. The majority and main body of the Sangleys went to La Laguna de Bay, the mountains of San Pablo, and Batangas, where they considered themselves more secure. Burning towns and churches, and everything in their path, they fortified themselves in the above-mentioned sites. Don Luys de Velasco, with seventy soldiers, continued to pursue them, killing each day a great number of them. On one occasion Don Luys was so closely engaged with the enemy, that the latter killed him and ten soldiers of his company, and fortified themselves again in San Pablo and Batangas, where they hoped to be able to sustain themselves until the arrival of reenforcements from China.¹³

The governor, fearful of this danger, and desirous of finishing the enemy, and giving entire peace to the country, sent Captain and Sargento-mayor Cristoval de Axqueta Menchaca with soldiers to pursue and finish the enemy. This man left with two hundred Spaniards – soldiers and volunteers – three hundred Japanese, and one thousand five hundred Pampanga and Tagál Indians,¹⁴ on the twentieth of October. He was so expeditious, that with little or no loss of men, he found the Sangleys fortified in San

¹³ “ And they tried to persuade the natives to unite with them ; but the latter refused, and on the contrary killed as many of the Sangleys as they caught ” (Argensola).— RIZAL.

¹⁴ Argensola says that “ four thousand Pampangos, armed in the custom of their country, with bows and arrows, half-pikes, shields, and long broad daggers,” were sent by the alcalde of Pampanga to the relief of Manila, which now needed soldiers.— RIZAL.

Pablo and Batangas, and, after fighting with them, killed and destroyed them all. None escaped, except two hundred, who were taken alive to Manila for the galleys. The captain was occupied in this for twenty days, and with it the war was ended. Very few merchants were left in Manila, and they had taken the good counsel to betake themselves, with their possessions, among the Spaniards in the city. At the beginning of the war there were not seven hundred Spaniards in the city capable of bearing arms.¹⁵

After the end of the war, the need of the city began, for, because of not having Sangleys who worked at the trades, and brought in all the provisions, there was no food, nor any shoes to wear, not even at excessive prices. The native Indians are very far from exercising those trades, and have even forgotten

¹⁵ In this struggle many cruelties were committed and many quiet and friendly Chinese killed. Don Pedro de Acuña, who could not prevent or stifle this terrible insurrection in its beginnings, also contributed to the horrible butcheries that ensued. "Accordingly many Spaniards and natives went to hunt the disbanded Sangleys, at Don Pedro's order." Hernando de Avalos, alcalde of La Pampanga, seized more than 400 pacific Sangleys, "and leading them to an estuary, manacled two and two, delivered them to certain Japanese, who killed them. Father Fray Diego de Guevara of the order of St. Augustine, prior of Manila, who made this relation, preached to the Sangleys first, but only five abandoned their idolatry." . . . Would he not have done better to preach to Alcalde Avalos, and to remind him that he was a man? The Spanish historians say that the Japanese and Filipinos showed themselves cruel in the killing of the Chinese. It is quite probable, considering the rancor and hate with which they were regarded. But their commanders contributed to it also by their example. It is said that more than 23,000 Chinese were killed. "Some assert that the number of Sangleys killed was greater, but in order that the illegality committed in allowing so many to enter the country contrary to the royal prohibitions might not be known, the officials covered up or diminished the number of those who perished" (Argensola).—RIZAL.

much of farming, and the raising of fowls, cattle, and cotton, and the weaving of cloth, which they used to do in the days of their paganism and for a long time after the conquest of the country.¹⁶ In addition to this, people thought that Chinese vessels would not come to the islands with food and merchandise, on account of the late revolution. Above all, they lived not without fear and suspicion that, instead of the merchant vessels, an armed fleet would attack Manila, in order to avenge the death of their Sangleys. All conspired to sadden the minds of the Spaniards. After having sent Fray Diego de Guevara, prior of the monastery of St. Augustine in Manila, to the court of España by way of India, with news of this event—but who was unable to reach Madrid for three years, because of his various fortunes in India, Persia, and Italia, through which countries he went—they immediately sent Captain Marco de la Cueva, together with Fray Luys Gandullo of the Order of St. Dominic, to the city of

¹⁶ The coming of the Spaniards to the Filipinas, and their government, together with the immigration of the Chinese, killed the industry and agriculture of the country. The terrible competition of the Chinese with any individual of another race is well known, for which reason the United States and Australia refuse to admit them. The indolence, then, of the inhabitants of the Filipinas, is derived from the lack of foresight of the government. Argensola says the same thing, and could not have copied Morga, since their works were published in the same year, in countries very distant from one another, and the two contain wide differences.—RIZAL.

The Chinese question has always been of great importance in the Philippines. The dislike of the Filipino for the Chinese seemed instinctive and was deep-rooted. The subject of the Chinese immigration to the islands has served for special legislation on many occasions in Spain, but they have nevertheless persisted in their trading and occupations therein. See Stanley's edition of Morga, appendix II, pp. 363-368; and *Los Chinos en Filipinos* (Manila, 1886).

Macao in China, where the Portuguese were living, with letters for the chief captain and the council of that city. These letters advised the latter of the revolt of the Sangleys, and of the result of the war, so that, if they should hear any rumors of a Chinese fleet, they could send word. At the same time letters were taken from the governor to the Tutons, Aytaos, and visitors of the provinces of Canton and Chincheo, recounting the outbreak of the Chinese, which obliged the Spaniards to kill them. Upon their arrival at Macao, Marcos de la Cueva and Fray Luys Gandullo found no news of a fleet, but that everything was quiet – although the Chinese had already heard of the insurrection and much of the result, from some Sangleys who had fled from Manila in champans, upon that occasion. It was immediately learned in Chincheo that these Spaniards were in Macao, whereupon Captains Guansan Sinu and Guachan, wealthy men and usually engaged in trade with Manila, went to look for them. Having learned the truth of the event, they took the letters for the mandarins and promised to deliver them. They urged other merchants and vessels of Chincheo, who were afraid, to go to Manila that year. This was very useful, for through them much of the necessity that the city [of Manila] was suffering was supplied. With this result and with some powder, salt-peter, and lead which Marcos de la Cueva had provided for the magazines, the latter left Macao, and sailed to Manila, which he reached in May, to the universal joy of the city over the news that he brought – which began to be verified immediately by the coming of the fleet of thirteen Chinese vessels bearing food and merchandise.

In the month of June of this year six hundred and three,¹⁷ two vessels were despatched from Manila to Nueva España, under command of Don Diego de Mendoza who had been sent that year by the viceroy, Marques de Montesclaros, with the usual reënforcements for the islands. The flagship was "Nuestra Señora de los Remedios" and the almiranta "Sant Antonio."

Many rich men of Manila, warned by the past troubles, took passage in these vessels with their households and property, for Nueva España – especially in the almiranta – with the greatest wealth that has ever left the Filipinas. Both vessels experienced so severe storms during the voyage, in the altitude of thirty-four degrees, and before having passed Japon, that the flagship, without masts and greatly lightened and damaged, put back in distress to Manila. The almiranta was swallowed up in the sea, and no one was saved. This was one of the greatest shipwrecks and calamities that the Filipinas have suffered since the past ones.

During the rest of that year and that of six hundred and five, until the sailing of the vessels which were to go to Castilla,¹⁸ the governor occupied himself in repairing the city, and supplying it with provisions and ammunition, with the special object and care that the decision which he was awaiting from the court for making an expedition to Maluco – of which he had been advised and warned – should not find him so unprepared as to cause him to delay the expedition. In this he was very successful, for at that same time, the master-of-camp, Joan de Esqui-

¹⁷ This should be six hundred and four. – RIZAL.

¹⁸ Nueva España. – RIZAL.

vel, had arrived in Mexico with six hundred soldiers from España. In Mexico more men were being enrolled, and a great preparation was made of ammunition, food, money, and arms, which the viceroy sent to the governor from Nueva España in March of that year, by order of his Majesty, in order that he might go to Maluco. All this arrived safely and in due season at Manila.

Shortly after the ships had left Manila for Nueva España, and those despatched thence by the viceroy had entered, Archbishop Don Fray Miguel de Benavides died of a long illness. His body was buried amid the universal devotion and grief of the city.¹⁹ At this same time, Don Pedro de Acuña received three letters, by the ships that continued to come from China that year, with the merchandise and with their principal captains. They were all of the same tenor – when translated into Castilian – from the Tuton and Haytao, and from the inspector-general of the province of Chincheo, and were on the matter of the insurrection of the Sangleys and their punishment. They were as follows:

[This letter occupies folios 113b–115a of the original edition of Morga. We have already presented that document in our VOL. XIII, p. 287, which is translated from a copy of the original manuscript. The answer of Acuña to this letter will be found in VOL. XIV, in the second document of that volume.]

The letter of the inspector-general was written on the twelfth of the second month – which according to our reckoning is March of the twenty-third year

¹⁹ This archbishop seems to have been a principal cause of the disturbance and massacre of the Chinese, by taking a leading part in exciting suspicion against them.—STANLEY.

of the reign of Vandel [*i.e.*, Wanleh]. The eunuch's ²⁰ letter was written on the sixteenth of the said month and year; and that of the viceroy, on the twenty-second of the month.

The governor answered these letters through the same messengers, civilly and authoritatively. He gave an explanation of the deed and justified the Spaniards, and offered friendship and trade anew with the Chinese. He said that their property, which had remained in Manila, would be restored to the owners, and that those imprisoned in the galleys would be freed in due season. First, however, he intended to use them for the Maluco expedition, which he was undertaking.

The entrances into various provinces of Japon by the discalced religious of St. Francis and those of St. Dominic and St. Augustine, continued to be made, both in the Castilian vessel itself which was despatched that year to the kingdoms of Quanto,²¹ and in other Japanese vessels which came to Manila with the silver and flour of the Japanese, in order to trade. This was permitted and allowed by Daifu, now

²⁰ The Arab travelers of the ninth century mention that eunuchs were employed in China, especially for the collection of the revenue, and that they were called *thoucam*.—STANLEY.

²¹ "In earlier times a barrier, which ran from Osaka to the border of Yamato and Omi, separated the thirty-three western from the thirty-three eastern provinces. The former were collectively entitled Kuwansei (pronounce Kánsé), *i.e.*, westward of the Gate; the latter Kuwantô (pronounce Kántô), *i.e.*, eastward of the Gate. Later, however, when under the Tokugawa régime the passes leading to the plain in which Yedo, the new capital of Shôgun, grew up were carefully guarded; by the Gate (Kuwan) was understood the great guard on the Hakone Pass, and Kuwantô or Kuwantô-Hashiu, the eight provinces east of it: Sagami, Musashi, Kôtsuke, Shimotsuke, Hitachi, Shimosa, Katsusa, and Awa." Thus defined by Rein, in his *Japan*, p. 11. Cf. Griffis, *Mikado's Empire*, p. 68, note.

called Cubosama, who that year sent the governor, through one of his servants, certain weapons and presents, in return for others which the governor had sent him. He answered the latter's letter as follows:

Letter from Daifusama, lord of Japon, to governor Don Pedro de Acuña, in the year one thousand six hundred and five.

I received two letters from your Lordship, and all the gifts and presents mentioned in the memorandum. Among them, when I received them, the wine made from grapes pleased me greatly. During former years, your Lordship requested permission for six vessels, and last year for four, and I always granted your request. But, what angers me greatly is that among the four vessels that your Lordship requested was that one called "Antonio," which made the voyage without my orders. This was a very lawless act, and in contempt of me. Can it be, perhaps, that your Lordship would send to Japon without my permission any vessel that you wished? Besides this, your Lordship and others have often negotiated about the sects of Japon, and requested many things in regard to them. This likewise I cannot concede; for this region is called Xincoco [Shinkoku], or "dedicated to the idols." These have been honored with the highest adoration from the time of our ancestors until now, and their acts I alone cannot undo or destroy. Consequently, it is not at all advisable that your religion be promulgated or preached in Japon; and if your Lordship wish to preserve friendship with these kingdoms of Japon and with me, do what I wish, and never do what is displeasing to me. Lastly, many have told me that many wicked and perverse

Japanese, who go to that kingdom and live there for many years, afterward return to Japon. This makes me very angry. Consequently, your Lordship will, in the future, allow no one of the Japanese to come here in the vessels that come from your country. In other matters, your Lordship shall act advisedly and prudently, and shall so conduct affairs, that henceforth I may not be angered on account of them.

The governor, carrying out his dearest wish, was to make the expedition to Terrenate in the Malucos, which should be done quickly, before the enemy could gather more strength than he had then; for he had been informed that the Dutch, who had seized the island and fortress of Amboino, had done the same with that of Tidore, whence they had driven the Portuguese who had settled therein, and had entered Terrenate, where they had established a trading-post for the clove-trade. Accordingly, as soon as the despatches in regard to this undertaking arrived from España, in June of six hundred and five, and the men and supplies from Nueva España, which were brought at the same time by the master-of-camp, Joan de Esquivel, the governor spent the balance of this year in preparing the ships, men, and provisions that he deemed necessary for the undertaking. Leaving behind in Manila sufficient force for its defense, he went to the provinces of Pintados, where the fleet was collected, in the beginning of the year six hundred and six.

By the fifteenth day of the month of March, the governor had thoroughly prepared the fleet—which consisted of five ships, four galleys with poop-lanterns [*galeras de fanal*], three galliots, four cham-

pans, three funeas, two English lanchas, two brigantines, one barca chata ²² for the artillery, and thirteen fragatas with high freeboard. There were one thousand three hundred Spaniards, counting regulars, captains and officers, substitutes [*entretenidos*], and volunteers. Among them were some Portuguese captains and soldiers, under charge of the chief captain of Tidore, ²³ who was at that island when the Dutch seized it. These Portuguese came from Malaca to serve in the expedition. There were also four hundred Indian pioneers – Tagáls and Pampangos of Manila – who went to serve at their own cost, under their own officers, and with their own weapons. There was a quantity of artillery of all kinds, ammunition, tools, and provisions for nine months. ²⁴ Don Pedro de Acuña left the point of Hilohilo, which is near the town of Arevalo in the island of Panai, [on the above day] with all this equipment, and coasting the island of Mindanao, made port at La Caldera, in order to replenish his water, wood, and other necessities.

The governor embarked in the galley “Santiago” and took under his charge the other galleys and oared

²² A flat-bottomed boat, capable of carrying heavy loads.

²³ Pedro Alvarez de Abreu.—RIZAL.

²⁴ According to Argensola, who gives a succinct relation of this expedition, the number engaged in it were as follows: Spaniards and their officers, 1,423; Pampangos and Tagáls (without their chiefs), 344; *idem*, for maritime and military service, 620; rowers, 649; Indian chiefs, 5; total 3,041. But he adds that all those of the fleet, exclusive of the general's household and followers, numbered 3,095. Probably the 54 lacking in the above number were the Portuguese under command of Abreu and Camelo, although Argensola does not mention Portuguese soldiers. . . . The names of the Indian chiefs attending the expedition at their own cost were: Don Guillermo (Palaot), master-

vessels. The ship "Jesus Maria" acted as flagship of the other vessels, and was commanded by the master-of-camp, Joan de Esquivel. Captain and Sargento-mayor Cristoval de Azcueta Menchaca acted as admiral of the fleet, which, after attending to its necessities at La Caldera, left that port. On setting sail, the flagship, which was a heavy vessel, was unable to leave port, and the currents drove it shoreward so that, without the others being able to help it, it grounded. It was wrecked there, but the crew, artillery, and a portion of its ammunition and clothing, were saved. After setting fire to the ship, and taking what nails and bolts they could, so that the Mindanaos could not make use of them, the fleet continued its voyage. The galleys coasted along the island of Mindanao, and the ships and other deep-draught vessels sailed in the open sea, all making for the port of Talangame, in the island of Terrenate. The vessels, although experiencing some changes of weather, first sighted the islands of Maluco, after they had been reconnoitered by a large Dutch ship, well equipped with artillery, which was anchored at Terrenate. This vessel fired some heavy artillery at our vessels, and then immediately entered the port, where it fortified itself under shelter of the land, and with its artillery and crew and the people of Terrenate. The master-of-camp went with his vessels to the island of Tidore, where he was well received by the Moro chiefs and cachils; for the king was away, as he had gone to the island of Bachan to be married.

of-camp; and Captains Don Francisco Palaot, Don Juan Lit, Don Luis Lont, and Don Agustin Lont. These must have behaved exceedingly well, for after the assault on Ternate, Argensola says: "Not a person of consideration among the Spaniards or the Indians remained unwounded."—RIZAL.

The master-of-camp found four Dutch factors there, who were trading for cloves. He learned from them that the ship at Terrenate was from Holland, and was one of those which had sailed from Amboino and seized Tidore, whence it had driven the Portuguese, and that it was being laden with cloves. It was awaiting other vessels of its convoy, for they had made friendship and treaties with Tidore and Terrenate, in order to be protected against the Castilians and Portuguese. The master-of-camp had the king of Tidore summoned immediately, and, while awaiting Don Pedro de Acuña, rested his men and cleaned the ships, and made gabions and other things necessary for the war. Don Pedro de Acuña, through his pilots' fault, had gone thirty leguas to leeward of the island of Terrenate toward the island of Celebes, otherwise called Mateo. Recognizing that island, he returned to Terrenate, and passing in sight of Talangame, discovered the Dutch vessel. He tried to reconnoiter it, but after seeing that it was harming his galleys with its artillery, and that the master-of-camp was not there, he proceeded to Tidore, where he found the latter, to the great joy of all. There they spent the remainder of the month of March. At this juncture the king of Tidore arrived, with twelve well-armed caracoas. He expressed joy at the governor's coming, to whom he complained at length of the tyranny and subjection in which he was kept by Sultan Zayde,²⁵ king of Terrenate, who was aided by the Dutch. He offered to go in person to serve his Majesty in the fleet, with six hundred men of Tidore. Don Pedro received him and feasted him. Then, without any further delay at Tidore, or any more

²⁵ Said Dini Baraka ja.—RIZAL.

concern about the ship at Talangame, he set about the chief purpose for which they had come. On the last of March he started to return to Terrenate. On that day he anchored in a harbor between the settlement and the port, as did also the king of Tidore with his caracoas. That same night the Dutch ship weighed anchor and went to Amboino. At dawn of next day, April first, soldiers were landed with some difficulty, with the intention of marching along the shore (which was a very close and narrow stretch) to the fort, in order to plant the artillery, with which to bombard it. As the governor thought that mischief would ensue because of the narrowness and closeness of the pass, he landed a number of pioneers on the high ground, to open another road, so that the remainder of the army might pass, and the enemy be diverted in several directions. By these efforts, he placed his camp under the walls, although a great number of Terenatans came from various directions to prevent him. The vanguard of the camp was in charge of Joan Xuarez Gallinato and Captains Joan de Cuevas, Don Rodrigo de Mendoça, Pasqual de Alarcon, Joan de Cervantes, Captain Vergara, and Cristoval de Villagra, with their companies. The other captains were in the body of the squadron. The rearguard was under command of Captain Delgado, while the master-of-camp aided in all parts. The army came up within range of the enemy's artillery, which suddenly began to play. The governor came to see how the troops were formed, and, leaving them at their post, returned to the fleet to have the pieces brought out for bombarding, and to obtain refreshment for the soldiers. Some high trees intervened between the troops and the wall, in which the

enemy had posted some scouts to reconnoiter the field. They were driven down, and our own scouts posted there, who gave advice from above of what was being done in the fort. Captain Vergara, and after him, Don Rodrigo de Mendoça and Alarcon, went to reconnoiter the walls, the bastion of Nuestra Señora, and the pieces mounted on the ground there, and a low wall of rough stone which extended to the mountain, where there was a bastion in which the wall ended. It was called Cachiltulo, and was defended with pieces of artillery and a number of culverins, muskets, arquebuses, and pikes; while many other weapons peculiar to the Terenatans were placed along the wall for its defense. Having seen and reconnoitered all this, although not with impunity, because the enemy had killed six soldiers with the artillery and wounded Alferez Joan de la Rambla in the knee with a musket-ball, the Spaniards returned to the army. A trifle past noon, a lofty site was reconnoitered, in the direction of the bastion of Cachiltulo, whence the enemy could be attacked and driven from the wall; and Captain Cuevas was ordered to occupy it with twenty-five musketeers. Having done this, the enemy sent out a crowd of men to prevent him from occupying it. A skirmish ensued, and the Moros turned and retreated to their wall. Cuevas followed them so closely and persisted so long, that he needed reënforcement. The scouts in the trees gave information of what was being done, whereupon Captains Don Rodrigo de Mendoça, Alarcon, Cervantes, and Vergara reënforced him with their light-armed pikemen and halberdiers. They pursued the enemy with so great rapidity and resolution that they entered the walls behind them.

However, some of the Spaniards were wounded, and Captain Cervantes was pushed down from the wall and his legs broken, which caused his death. Captain Don Rodrigo de Mendoça, pursuing the enemy, who were retiring, ran inside the wall as far as the cavalier of Nuestra Señora, while Vergara ran in the opposite direction along the curtain of the wall to the bastion of Cachiltulo, and went on as far as the mountain. By this time the main body of the army had already assaulted the wall. Mutually aiding one another, they mounted the wall and entered the place on all sides, although with the loss of some dead and wounded soldiers. The soldiers were stopped by a trench beyond the fort of Nuestra Señora, for the enemy had retreated to a shed, which was fortified with a considerable number of musketeers and arquebusiers, and four light pieces. They discharged their arquebuses and muskets at the Spaniards, and threw cane spears hardened in fire, and *bacacaes*,²⁶ after their fashion. The Spaniards assaulted the shed, whereupon a Dutch artilleryman trying to fire a large swivel-gun, with which he would have done great damage, being confused did not succeed, and threw down the linstock, turned, and fled. The enemy did the same after him, and abandoned the shed, fleeing in all directions. Those who would do so embarked with the king and some of his wives and the Dutch in one caracoa and four *juangas*²⁷ which they had

²⁶ Combés (*Mindanao*, Retana's ed., cols. 73, 74) describes the bagacay as a small, slender reed, hardened in fire and sharp-pointed; it is hurled by a Moro at an enemy with unerring skill, and sometimes five are discharged in one volley. He narrates surprising instances of the efficacy of this weapon, and says that "there is none more cruel, at close range."

²⁷ Stanley translates this "flat-boats." Retana and Pastells

armed near the king's fort. Captain Vergara entered the fort immediately, but found it deserted. Don Rodrigo de Mendoça and Villagra pursued the enemy toward the mountain for a long distance, and killed many Moros. With this, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the settlement and fort of Terrenate was completely gained. The Spanish banners and standards were flung from it, without it having been necessary for them to bombard the walls, as they had expected; and the fort was taken at so slight cost to the Spaniards. Their dead numbered fifteen men, and the wounded twenty more. The whole town was reconnoitered, even its extremity – a small fort, called Limataen – which contained two pieces of artillery, and two other pieces near the mosque on the seashore. The loot of the place was of small importance, for already the things of most value, and the women and children, had been removed to the island of Moro, whither the king fled and took refuge in a fort that he had there. Some products of that land were found, and a great quantity of cloves. In the factory of the Dutch were found two thousand ducados, some cloth goods and linens, and many weapons, while in many places were excellent Portuguese and Dutch artillery, a number of culverins and a quantity of ammunition, of which possession was taken for his Majesty.²⁸ A guard was placed over what was gained, and the

(Combés's *Mindanao*, col. 787) derive this word from Chinese *chun*, "a boat," and regard the *joanga* (*juanga*) as a small junk.

²⁸ "The soldiers, having entered the city, gave themselves universally to violence and pillage. Don Pedro had issued a proclamation conceding that all of the enemy captured within those four days, should be slaves" (Argensola). During the sack, which Don Pedro was unable to restrain, neither children nor young girls were spared. One girl was killed because two soldiers disputed for her.—RIZAL.

place was put in a condition for defense with some pieces taken from the fleet, while the governor ordered and provided whatever else was advisable.

Cachil Amuxa, the king's nephew and the greatest chief of Terrenate, came with other cachils to make peace with the governor. He said that he and all the Terenatans wished to be vassals of his Majesty, and that they would have rendered homage long before, but the king prevented them. The latter as a proud man, and, confident in his own opinion, although he had been advised to surrender the fort to his Majesty and render him homage, had steadily refused to do so, having been encouraged and emboldened by the success that he had gained upon other occasions. That was the reason that he found himself in his present wretched condition. He offered to induce the king to leave the fort of Moro if given assurance of life. Don Pedro de Acuña received this Moro well, and as a Portuguese, Pablo de Lima – one of those whom the Dutch had driven from Tidore, a man of high standing, and well acquainted with the king – offered to accompany him, the governor despatched them with a written passport as follows:

*Passport from Don Pedro de Acuña to the king of
Terrenate*

I, Don Pedro de Acuña, governor, captain-general, and president of the Filipinas Islands, and general of this army and fleet, declare that, over my signature, I hereby give security of life to the king of Terrenate, in order that he may come to talk with me – both to him and those whom he may bring with him – reserving to myself the disposal of all the others as I may see fit. I certify this in his Majesty's

name. And I order that no person of this fleet molest him or any of his possessions, and that all observe what is herein contained. Given in Terrenate, April six, one thousand six hundred and six.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

Within nine days Cachilamuja and Pablo de Lima returned to Terrenate with the king, the prince, his son,²⁹ and others of his relatives, cachils and sangajes,³⁰ under the said passport. They placed themselves under the governor's power, and he received them with great affection and respect. He lodged the king and his son in a good house in the settlement, under guard of a company. The king restored the villages of Christians that his Majesty had possessed in the island of Moro, when the fort of Terrenate was lost by the Portuguese. He placed his person and kingdom in his Majesty's power, and surrendered a quantity of muskets and heavy artillery that he had in some forts of the said island. The governor did not despoil him of his kingdom, but on the contrary allowed him to appoint two of his men to govern, whose choice was to be ratified by himself. The king, his son the prince, and their cachils and sangajes swore homage to his Majesty. The kings of Tidore and Bachan, and the sangaje of La Bua did the same, and covenanted and promised not to admit either the Dutch or other nations into Maluco for the clove-trade. They promised, as his Majesty's vassals, to go on all occasions to serve him with their persons, men, and ships, whenever summoned by whomever

²⁹ "The prince's name was Sulamp Gariolano. This step was contrary to the advice of Queen Celicaya" (Argensola).—RIZAL.

³⁰ Sangajy, a Malay title (Marsden).—STANLEY.

commanded the fort of Terrenate; that they would oppose no obstacles to the Moros who wished to become Christians; that if any wicked Christian went to their lands to turn renegade, they would surrender him; and other suitable things. Therewith great and small were content and pleased, since they were freed from the tyranny of the king of Terrenate. The governor remitted to them the third part of the tributes which they were wont to pay their king, and gave the Moros other advantages. Then he planned a new and modern fort, in a very conspicuous and suitable location, and began to build it. In order that the old fort might be better defended while the new one was being completed, he reduced it to a less size, by making new cavaliers and bastions, which he finished and furnished with ramparts and stout gates. He commenced another fort in the island of Tidore, on a good location near the settlement. After placing in order whatever he judged necessary in Terrenate and Tidore, and in the other towns and fortresses of Maluco, he returned with his fleet to the Filipinas. He left the master-of-camp, Joan de Esquivel, with a garrison of six hundred soldiers – five hundred, in five companies, for Terrenate – in the fort of Terrenate to act as his assistant and as governor of Maluco; he also left there one large forge and a number of smiths, sixty-five pioneers, thirty-five stonecutters, two galliots, two well-armed brigantines, and crews of rowers. The other company of soldiers [was to be stationed] in Tidore under command of Captain Alarcon; while ammunition and provisions for one year were left in both forts. In order to be more assured of the [peaceful] condition of the country, he took the king of Terrenate

from it and carried him to Manila, as well as his son the prince, and twenty-four cachils and sangajes, most of them the king's relatives, to whom he showed every honor and good treatment. He explained to them why he took them, and that their return to Maluco depended upon the security and tranquillity with which the Moros should conduct themselves in their obedience and service to his Majesty.³¹ The three Portuguese galliots returned to Malaca, taking with them the Dutch who were in Maluco and the Portuguese captains and soldiers who had come to take part in this expedition. The governor entered Manila in triumph with the remainder of the fleet,

³¹ The Jesuit Father Luis Fernández, Gallinato, and Esquivel made negotiations with the king for this exile, and Father Colin attributes its good outcome to the cleverness of the former. What was then believed to be prudent resulted afterward as an impolitic measure, and bore very fatal consequences; for it aroused the hostility of all the Molucas, even that of their allies, and made the Spanish name as odious as was the Portuguese. The priest Hernando de los Rios, Bokemeyer, and other historians, moreover, accuse Don Pedro de Acuña of bad faith in this; but, strictly judged, we believe that they do so without foundation. Don Pedro in his passport assured the lives of the king and prince, but not their liberty. Doubtless a trifle more generosity would have made the conqueror greater, and the odium of the Spanish name less, while it would have assured Spanish domination of that archipelago. The unfortunate king never returned to his own country. Hernando de los Rios says that during Don Pedro de Acuña's life he was well treated, but that during the administration of Don Juan de Silva "I have seen him in a poor lodging where all the rain fell on him, and they were starving him to death." He is described by Argensola as of "robust proportions, and his limbs are well formed. His neck and much of his breast are bare. His flesh is of a cloudy color, rather black than gray. The features of his face are like those of an European. His eyes are large and full, and he seems to dart sparks from them. His large eyelashes, his thick bristling beard, and his mustaches add to his fierceness. He always wears his campilan, dagger, and kris, both with hilts in the form of gilded serpents' heads." This description was taken from a picture sent to Spain.—RIZAL.

on the last day of May, six hundred and six. He was received there with acclamations of joy and praise from the city, who gave thanks to God for so happy and prompt result in an undertaking of so great weight and importance.

During the governor's absence in Maluco, the royal Audiencia of the islands governed the Filipinas. The Audiencia wished to drive a number of Japanese from the city, for they were a turbulent people and promised little security for the country. When this was attempted and force employed, the Japanese resisted, and the matter came to such a pass that they took arms to oppose it, and it was necessary for the Spaniards to take their arms also. The affair assumed definite proportions, and some on either side wished to give battle. However, it was postponed by various means until, through the efforts of certain religious, the Japanese were quieted; and afterward as many as possible were embarked in vessels, although they resented it greatly. This was one of the greatest dangers that has threatened Manila, for the Spaniards were few in number, and the Japanese more than one thousand five hundred, and they are a spirited and very mettlesome race. Had they come to blows on this occasion, the Spaniards would have fared ill.³²

The governor, upon entering Manila, took over immediately the affairs of his government, especially

³² Other disturbances occurred also, because of Don Pedro's enemies having spread the news that the expedition had been destroyed, and most of those making it killed. "This report, having come to the ears of the Indians, was so harmful that they began to mutiny, especially in the provinces of Camarines and Pintados. The friars who instructed them could already do nothing with them, for they asked why, since the inhabitants of the Malucos were victorious, should they be subject to the Spaniards,

the despatching of two vessels about to sail to Nueva España. He was present in person in the port of Cabit at the equipment and lading of the ships, and the embarkation of the passengers. He was seized by some indisposition of the stomach which compelled him to return to Manila and take to his bed. His pain and vomiting increased so rapidly that, without its being possible to relieve him, he died in great anguish on St. John's day, to the great sorrow and grief of the country. Especially did the king of Ternate show and express his grief, for he had always received great honor and kind treatment from the governor. It was suspected that his death had been violent, because of the severity and the symptoms of his illness. The suspicion increased, because the physicians and surgeons, having opened his body, declared, from the signs that they found, that he had been poisoned, which made his death more regrettable.³³ The Audiencia buried the governor in the monastery of St. Augustine at Manila, with the pomp and ostentation due to his person and offices. Then, again taking charge of the government, the

who did not defend them from the Moros. They said that the Moros would plunder them daily with the help of Ternate, and that it would be worse henceforth" (Argensola).—RIZAL.

La Concepción states (*Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, p. 103) that these Japanese were settled in Dilao; and that the immediate cause of their mutiny was the killing of a Japanese by a Spaniard, in a quarrel.

³³ The authors of this poisoning were then known in Manila, and according to Argensola were those envious of the governor. "But although they were known as such, so that the suspicion of the crowd makes them the authors of the poisoning . . . we shall repress their names . . . for all are now dead" (Argensola).—RIZAL.

Cf. La Concepción (*Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, pp. 105, 106); he ascribes the report of Acuña's poisoning to the physicians, who sought thus to shield their own ignorance of his disease.

Audiencia despatched the vessels to Nueva España, whence advice was sent to his Majesty of the taking of Maluco and the death of the governor.

The flagship, in which Don Rodrigo de Mendoça was sailing as general and captain, reached Nueva España quickly with this news. The almiranta, notwithstanding that it left the islands at the same time, delayed more than six months. Eighty persons who perished from disease were buried in the sea, while many others stricken by the disease died of it upon landing at the port of Acapulco. Among these was the licentiate Don Antonio de Ribera, auditor of Manila, who had been appointed auditor of Mexico.

At the arrival of these vessels, it was learned that since the death of Don Pedro de Acuña, and the taking over of the government by the Audiencia, no change had occurred in the affairs of the islands; but that their commerce was restricted because of the prohibition which forbade sending to the islands more than five hundred thousand pesos each year of the proceeds from the sale of the merchandise in Nueva España. On account of this the people were in need, as this amount appeared little for the many Spaniards and for the extent of the trade – by which all classes are sustained, as they have no other resources or capital. Also, although the gaining of Maluco had been so important for affairs in those islands themselves, and their punishment for the reduction of the other rebels – especially those of Mindanao and Jolo, from whom the Filipinas had received so great injury – the desirable quiet and stability had not been secured. For the Mindanaos and the Joloans were not yet discontinuing their descents upon the provinces of the Pintados in their war-

vessels, to seize booty according to their custom – and this will continue until a suitable expedition be sent against them – and Maluco affairs were not failing to give Joan de Esquivel, the master-of-camp, sufficient to do. He was acting as governor there and had but little security from the natives, who, being a Mahometan people, and by nature easily persuaded and fickle, are restless, and ready for disturbances and wars. Daily and in different parts the natives were being incited and aroused to rebellion; and although the master-of-camp and his captains were endeavoring to punish and pacify them, they could not do what was necessary to quiet so many disturbances as arose. The soldiers were dying, and the food giving out; and the aid sent from Manila could not arrive at the time or in so great quantity as was requested, because of the perils of the voyage and the straits of the royal treasury.³⁴ The coming of vessels to Maluco at this time from Holanda and Zelanda was not less prejudicial to all our interests; for the Dutch, having so great interests in the islands, and having established their interests there so firmly, were coming in squadrons by the India route, to recover what they had lost in Amboino, Terrenate, and other islands. With their countenance, the Moros were revolting against the Spaniards, who had their hands

³⁴ These were the results of having taken the king and his chiefs, who had entrusted themselves to Don Pedro de Acuña, prisoners to Manila, the king of Tidore, the ally of España, had already found means to break the alliance. The governors appointed by the captive king refused to have anything to do with the Spaniards. Fear was rampant in all parts, and the spirit of vengeance was aroused. "When his vassals saw the ill-treatment that the Spaniards inflicted on their king, they hated us so much that they acquired an equal liking for our enemies. (Her. de los Rios)." Don Pedro lacked the chief characteristic of Legazpi.—RIZAL.

full with them, and more so with the Dutch, for the latter were numerous, and more dangerous enemies than the natives.

The Dutch interest in these regions is so vast – both in the clove-trade and that of other drugs and spices, and because they think that they will have a gateway there for the subjugation of the whole Orient – that, overcoming all the toil and dangers of the voyage, they are continually coming to these islands in greater numbers and with larger fleets. If a very fundamental and timely remedy be not administered in this matter, it will increase to such an extent in a short time that afterward no remedy can be applied.

The English and Flemish usually make this voyage by way of the strait of Magallanes. Francisco Draque [Drake] was the first to make it, and some years later Tomas Liscander [Candish or Cavendish], who passed by Maluco.

Lately Oliver del Nort, a Fleming, made the voyage. The Spanish fleet fought with his fleet amid the Filipinas Islands, at the end of the year one thousand six hundred. In this fight, after the capture of his almiranta (which was commanded by Lamberto Biezman) the flagship, having lost nearly all its crew, and being much disabled, took to flight. And as it afterward left the Filipinas, and was seen in Sunda and the Java channels, so disabled, it seemed impossible for it to navigate, and that it would surely be lost, as was recounted above when treating of this.

This pirate, although so crippled, had the good fortune to escape from the Spaniards, and, after great troubles and hardships, he returned to Amstradam with his ship “Mauricio,” with only nine men alive, reaching it on the twenty-sixth of August in the year

six hundred and one. He wrote the relation and the events of his voyage, and gave plates of the battle and of the ships. This was afterward translated into Latin and printed by Teodoro de Bri, a German, at Francfort, in the year six hundred and two. Both relations are going the rounds, and the voyage is regarded as a most prodigious feat and one of so great hardships and perils.³⁵

Bartolome Perez, a pilot, gave the same news from the island of La Palma. He, having come from England by way of Holanda, conversed with Oliver del Nort, and the latter narrated to him his voyage and sufferings, as mentioned by Licentiate Fernando de la Cueva in a letter from the island of La Palma,³⁶ on the last of July, of the year six hundred and four, to Marcos de la Cueva, his brother, who was a resident of Manila, and one of the volunteers who embarked on the Spanish flagship which fought with the pirate. This letter is as follows.

I answer two of your Grace's letters in this: one dated July, six hundred and one, and the other July,

³⁵ This relation forms an appendix to Theodore de Bry's *Ninth part of America* (Frankfort, 1601), and was printed by Matthew Becker (Frankfort, 1602). The copper plates are different from those of the Dutch edition of the relation.—STANLEY.

The plates representing Oliver van Noordt's fleet, presented in the preceding volume, are taken from tome xvi of Theodore de Bry's *Peregrinationes* (first ed.), by courtesy of the Boston Public Library. The title-page of the relation reads in part: "Description dv penible voyage faict entovr de l'univers ou globe terrestre, par Sr. Olivier dv Nort d'Avtrecht, . . . Le tout tranflaté du Flamand en Franchois, . . . Imprimé a Amsterdame. Ches Cornille Claeffz fur l'Eau au Livre a Ecrire, l'An 1602." This relation was reprinted in 1610, and numerous editions have appeared since.

³⁶ One of the Canary Islands.

six hundred and two. In both of them your Grace relates to me the shipwreck that befell you and how you saved yourself by swimming. Long before I saw your Grace's letters, I had learned of your mishap, whereat I was very anxious and even quite grieved; because of what was reported here, I imagined that your Grace had a part in it. Consequently, I was singularly overjoyed at the assurance that your Grace still possessed life and health. Having them, one can conquer other things; and without them human treasure has no value. By way of Flandes (whence ships come daily to this island), I learned much, nay, all the event, although not so minutely. For Oliver de Nort, who was the Dutch general, with whom the engagement occurred, arrived safely in Holanda, with eight men – and he made nine – and without money. His purpose when he left the rebellious states of Holanda and Zelanda, with five armed vessels laden with merchandise – which were worth, principal and merchandise, one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand ducados – was to trade and carry on commerce through the strait (and such were his orders), in whatever parts he should be, with friends or enemies. He was not to attack anyone, but only to defend himself and to incline the Indians to trade and exchange with him. All the vessels having reached the strait together, three of them became separated there because of storms, and must have been wrecked; for up to the present nothing has been heard of them. Having seen himself so abandoned, and that he could not restore his loss by trade, or else because he did not receive a hospitable reception from the inhabitants of Piru, he determined to exceed his orders, and make that voyage one

of plundering. Accordingly he stationed himself at the mouth of the river to await ships. The rest that befell, your Grace knows. Oliver de Nort is a native of the city of Rotterdam, and he reached it with an anchor of wood.³⁷ He had no other with which to anchor, nor indeed had he any other left. It is said that this is a very heavy wood of the Indias, and he has placed it at the door of his house, as a mark of distinction. He arrived, as I say, with nine men, all told, very much worn out, and as by a miracle. He has printed a book of his voyage, with engravings of his vessels, and many other details of what happened to him, and the hardships that they endured in the fight and throughout the voyage, both to show his own glory and to incite others to similar deeds. A pilot of this island, one Bartolome Perez, was seized and taken to Inglaterra before the peace or truce. He came through Holanda, where he conversed at great length with Oliver. The latter told him all that had happened to him, which is known to all, and was discussed in this island before that voyage. Bartolome Perez says that Oliver de Nort praised the Spaniards greatly, and said they were the bravest men he had seen in his life. They had gained the deck of his ship, and all the upper works, when he cried out from below deck to set fire to the powder, whereupon he believes that the Spaniards left for fear of being blown up. The Dutch then had an opportunity to escape, but so crippled were they that their reaching port seems a miracle. The pilot says that he saw the anchor and the book, and what pertains to the book is stated here. I have recounted

³⁷ This anchor was given him by a Japanese captain, in Manila Bay, on December 3, 1600.—STANLEY.

this to your Grace, because of the statements in your letter, namely, that people considered them as lost, and so that so singular a case may be known there.

Now the Dutch make the voyage more quickly and more safely, going and coming, by way of India, but not touching at its ports or coasts, until they reach the islands of the Javas³⁸—Java major and Java minor—and Samatra, Amboino, and the Malucas. Since they know the district so well, and have experienced the immense profits ensuing to them therefrom, it will be difficult to drive them from the Orient, where they have inflicted so many losses in both spiritual and temporal affairs.

¶ *Relation of the Filipinas Islands and of their natives, antiquity, customs, and government, both during the period of their paganism and after their conquest by the Spaniards, and other details.*

¶ CHAPTER EIGHTH

The islands of the eastern Ocean Sea, adjacent to farther Asia, belonging to the crown of España, are generally called, by those who navigate thither by way of the demarcation of Castilla and Castilla's seas and lands of America, "the Western Islands;"

³⁸ What we now call Java used to be called Java major, and the island of Bali was Java minor.—STANLEY.

[Note: Inasmuch as Morga enters somewhat largely into the ancient customs of the Tagáls and other Filipino peoples in the present chapter, and as some of Rizal's notes indicative of the ancient culture of those peoples are incorporated in notes that follow, we deem it advisable to invite attention to Lord Stanley's remarks in the preface to his translation of Morga (p. vii), and Pardo de Tavera's comment in his *Biblioteca Filipina* (Washington, 1903), p. 276. Stanley says: "The inhabitants of the Philippines pre-

for from the time that one leaves España, he sails in the course of the sun from east to west, until he reaches them. For the same reason they are called "Eastern Islands" by those who sail from west to east by way of Portuguese India, each of them circumscribing the world by voyaging in opposite directions, until they meet at these islands, which are numerous and of varying size; they are properly called Filipinas, and are subject to the crown of Castilla. They lie within the tropic of Cancer, and extend from twenty-four degrees north latitude to the equinoctial line, which cuts the islands of Maluco. There are many others on the other side of the line, in the tropic of Capricorn, which extend for twelve degrees in south latitude.³⁹ The ancients affirmed that each and all of them were desert and uninhabitable,⁴⁰ but now experience has demon-

strated that the Spanish settlement were not like the inhabitants of the great Indian Peninsula, people with a civilization as that of their conquerors. Excepting that they possessed the art of writing, and an alphabet of their own, they do not appear to have differed in any way from the Dayaks of Borneo as described by Mr. Boyle in his recent book of adventures amongst that people. Indeed there is almost a coincidence of verbal expressions in the descriptions he and De Morga give of the social customs, habits, and superstitions of the two peoples they are describing; though many of these coincidences are such as are incidental to life in similar circumstances, there are enough to lead one to suppose a community of origin of the inhabitants of Borneo and Luzon." Pardo de Tavera says after quoting the first part of the above: "Lord Stanley's opinion is dispassionate and not at all at variance with historical truth." The same author says also that Blumentritt's prologue and Rizal's notes in the latter's edition of Morga have so aroused the indignation of the Spaniards that several have even attacked Morga.]

³⁹ More exactly from 25° 40' north latitude to 12° south latitude, if we are to include Formosa in the group, which is inhabited likewise by the same race.—RIZAL.

⁴⁰ We confess our ignorance with respect to the origin of this belief of Morga, which, as one can observe, was not his belief in

strated that they deceived themselves; for good climates, many people, and food and other things necessary for human life are found there, besides many mines of rich metals, with precious gems and pearls, and animals and plants, which nature has not stinted.

It is impossible to number all the islands – counting larger and smaller – of this vast archipelago. Those comprised in the name and government of Filipinas, number about forty large islands, besides other smaller ones, all consecutive. The chiefest and best known are Luzon, Mindoro, Tendency,⁴¹ Capul, Burias, Mazbate, Marinduque, Leite, Camar, Ybabao, Sebu, Panay, Bohol, Catenduanes, Calamianes, Mindanao, and others of less renown.

the beginning of the first chapter. Already from the time of Diodorus Siculus (first century B. C.), Europe received information of these islands by one Iamboule, a Greek, who went to them (to Sumatra at least), and who wrote afterward the relation of his voyage. He gave therein detailed information of the number of the islands, of their inhabitants, of their writing, navigation, etc. Ptolemy mentions three islands in his geography, which are called Sindæ in the Latin text. They are inhabited by the *αγινναται*. Mercator interprets those islands as Celebes, Gilolo, and Amboina. Ptolemy also mentions the island *αγαθου δαιμονος* (Borneo), five *βαρουσσαί* (Mindanao, Leite, Sebu, etc.), three *σαβαδελβαι* (the Java group – *ταβαδιου*) and ten *μασνιολαι* where a large loadstone was found. Colin surmises that these are the Manilas. – RIZAL.

Colin (*Labor Evangelica*, Madrid, 1663) discusses the discovery and naming of the Philippines. He quotes Ptolemy's passage that speaks of islands called the Maniolas, whence many suppose came the name Manilas, sometimes given to the islands. But as pointed out in a letter dated March 14, 1904, by James A. LeRoy, Spanish writers have wasted more time on the question than it merits. Mr. LeRoy probably conjectures rightly that many old Chinese and Japanese documents will be found to contain matter relating to the Philippines prior to the Spanish conquest.

⁴¹ It is very difficult now to determine exactly which is this island of Tendency, called Isla Filipina for some years. According

The first island conquered and colonized by the Spaniards was Sebu.⁴² From there the conquest was started and continued in all the neighboring islands. Those islands are inhabited by people, natives of the same islands, called Viçayas; or by another name, Pintados – for the more prominent of the men, from their youth, tattoo their whole bodies, by pricking them wherever they are marked and then throwing certain black powders over the bleeding surface, the figures becoming indelible. But, as the chief seat of the government, and the principal Spanish settlement, was moved to the island of Luzon – the largest island, and that one nearest and opposite to Great China and Japon – I shall treat of it first; for much that will be said of it is similar in the others, to each of whose particulars and distinctive details I shall pass in due time.

This island of Luzon extends lengthwise, from the point and head where one enters the Filipinas Islands (by the channel of Capul, which lies in thirteen and one-half degrees north latitude) to the other

to Father Urdaneta's relations, this island was far to the east of the group, past the meridian of Maluco. Mercator locates it in Panay, and Colin in Leyte, between Abuyog and Cabalian – contrary to the opinion of others, who locate it in Ibabao, or south of Samar. But according to other documents of that period, there is no island by that name, but a chief called Tendaya, lord of a village situated in that district; and, as the Spaniards did not understand the Indians well at that time, many contradictions thus arose in the relations of that period. We see that, in Legazpi's expedition, while the Spaniards talked of islands, the Indians talked of a man, etc. After looking for Tandaya for ten days they had to continue without finding it "and we passed on without seeing Tandaya or Abuyo." It appears, nevertheless, that the Spaniards continued to give this name to the southwestern part of Samar, calling the southeastern part Ibabao or Zibabao and the northern part of the same island Samar. – RIZAL.

⁴² Sugbú, in the dialect of the country. – RIZAL.

point in the province of Cagayan, called Cape Bojeador (and located opposite China, in twenty degrees), more than two hundred leguas. In some parts its width is more constricted than in others, especially in the middle of the island, where it is so narrow that it is less than thirty leguas from sea to sea, or from one coast to the other. The whole island is more than four hundred leguas in circumference.

The climates of this island are not harmonious; on the contrary, they present a great diversity in its different districts and provinces. The head and beginning of the island, in the region of the channel, is more temperate in the interior, although the coasts are hot. The site of the city of Manila is hot, for it is on the coast and is low; but in its vicinity, quite near the city, there are districts and settlements much cooler, where the heat is not oppressive. The same is true of the other head of the island, opposite China, named Cagayan. The seasons of the year – winter and summer – are contrary to those in Europe; for the rains generally last in all these islands from the month of June until the month of September, and are accompanied by heavy showers, whirlwinds, and storms on sea and land. The summer lasts from October to the end of May, with clear skies and fair winds at sea. However, the winter and rainy season begins earlier in some provinces than in others.⁴³ In Cagayan winter and summer almost coincide with those of España, and come at the same seasons.

⁴³ Morga considers the rainy season as winter, and the rest of the year as summer. However this is not very exact, for at Manila, in December, January, and February, the thermometer is lower than in the months of August and September. Consequently, in its seasons it is like those of España and those of all the rest of the northern hemisphere.—RIZAL.

The people inhabiting the province of Camarines and almost as far as the provinces of Manila, in this great island of Luzon, both along the coast and in the interior, are natives of this island. They are of medium height, with a complexion like stewed quinces; and both men and women are well-featured. They have very black hair, and thin beards; and are very clever at anything that they undertake, keen and passionate, and of great resolution. All live from their labor and gains in the field, their fishing, and trade, going from island to island by sea, and from province to province by land.

The natives of the other provinces of this island as far as Cagayan are of the same nature and disposition, except that it has been learned by tradition that those of Manila and its vicinity were not natives of this island, but came thither in the past and colonized it; and that they are Malay natives, and come from other islands and remote provinces.⁴⁴

In various parts of this island of Luzon are found a number of natives, black in color. Both men and women have woolly hair, and their stature is not very great, although they are strong and robust. These people are barbarians, and have but little capacity. They possess no fixed houses or settlements, but wander in bands and hordes through the mountains and rough country, changing from one site to another

⁴⁴ The ancient traditions made Sumatra the original home of the Filipino Indians. These traditions, as well as the mythology and genealogies mentioned by the ancient historians, were entirely lost, thanks to the zeal of the religious in rooting out every national pagan or idolatrous record. With respect to the ethnology of the Filipinas, see Professor Blumentritt's very interesting work, *Versuch einer Etnographie der Philippinen* (Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1882).—RIZAL.

according to the season. They support themselves in certain clearings, and by planting rice, which they do temporarily, and by means of the game that they bring down with their bows, in the use of which they are very skilful and certain.⁴⁵ They live also on honey from the mountains, and roots produced by the ground. They are a barbarous people, in whom one cannot place confidence. They are much given to killing and to attacking the settlements of the other natives, in which they commit many depredations; and there is nothing that can be done to stop them, or to subdue or pacify them, although this is always attempted by fair or foul means, as opportunity and necessity demand.

The province of Cagayan is inhabited by natives of the same complexion as the others of the island, although they are better built, and more valiant and warlike than the others. They wear their hair long and hanging down the back. They have been in revolt and rebellion twice since the first time when they were pacified; and there has been plenty to do, on different occasions, in subduing them and repacifying them.

The apparel and clothing of these natives of Luzon before the entrance of the Spaniards into the country were generally, for the men, certain short collarless garments of *cangan*, sewed together in the front, and with short sleeves, and reaching slightly below the waist; some were blue and others black, while the

⁴⁵ This passage contradicts the opinion referred to in Boyle's *Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo*, respecting the ignorance of the Dyaks in the use of the bow, which seems to imply that other South Sea islanders are supposed to share this ignorance. These aboriginal savages of Manila resemble the Pakatans of Borneo in their mode of life.—STANLEY.

chiefs had some red ones, called *chinanas*.⁴⁶ They also wore a strip of colored cloth wrapped about the waist, and passed between the legs, so that it covered the privy parts, reaching half-way down the thigh; these are called *bahaques*.⁴⁷ They go with legs bare, feet unshod, and the head uncovered, wrapping a narrow cloth, called *potong*⁴⁸ just below it, with which they bind the forehead and temples. About their necks they wear gold necklaces, wrought like spun wax,⁴⁹ and with links in our fashion, some larger than others. On their arms they wear armlets of wrought gold, which they call *calombigas*, and which are very large and made in different patterns. Some

⁴⁶ We do not know the origin of this word, which does not seem to be derived from *China*. If we may make a conjecture, we will say that perhaps a poor phonetic transcription has made *chinina* from the word *tininā* (from *tinā*) which in Tagál signifies *teñido* ["dyed stuff"], the name of this article of clothing, generally of but one color throughout. The chiefs wore these garments of a red color, which made, according to Colin, "of fine gauze from India."—RIZAL.

⁴⁷ Bahag "a richly dyed cloth, generally edged with gold" among the chiefs.—RIZAL.

⁴⁸ "They wrapped it in different ways, now in the Moro style, like a turban without the top part, now twisted and turned in the manner of the crown of a hat. Those who esteemed themselves valiant let the ends of the cloth, elaborately embroidered, fall down the back to the buttocks. In the color of the cloth, they showed their chieftaincy, and the device of their undertakings and prowess. No one was allowed to use the red *potong* until he had killed at least one man. And in order to wear them edged with certain edgings, which were regarded as a crown, they must have killed seven men (Colin)." Even now any Indian is seen to wear the *balindang* in the manner of the *putong*. *Putong* signifies in Tagál, "to crown" or "to wrap anything around the head."—RIZAL.

⁴⁹ This is the reading of the original (*cera hilada*). It seems more probable that this should read "spun silk," and that Morga's amanuensis misunderstood *seda* ("silk") as *cera* ("wax"), or else it is a misprint.

wear strings of precious stones – cornelians and agates; and other blue and white stones, which they esteem highly.⁵⁰ They wear around the legs some strings of these stones, and certain cords, covered with black pitch in many foldings, as garters.⁵¹

In a province called Zambales, they wear the head shaved from the middle forward. On the skull they have a huge lock of loose hair.⁵² The women throughout this island wear small jackets [*sayuelos*] with sleeves of the same kinds of cloth and of all colors, called *varos*.⁵³ They wear no shifts, but certain white cotton garments which are wrapped about the waist and fall to the feet, while other dyed cloths are wrapped about the body, like kirtles, and are very graceful. The principal women have crimson ones, and some of silk, while others are woven with gold, and adorned with fringe and other ornaments. They wear many gold necklaces about the neck, calumbigas on the wrists, large earrings of wrought gold in the ears, and rings of gold and precious stones. Their black hair is done up in a very graceful knot on the head. Since the Spaniards came to the country many Indians do not wear *bahaques*, but wide

⁵⁰ “They also have strings of bits of ivory” (Colin).—RIZAL.

⁵¹ “The last complement of the gala dress was, in the manner of our sashes, a richly dyed shawl crossed at the shoulder and fastened under the arm” (even today the men wear the *lambong* or mourning garment in this manner) “which was very usual with them. The Bisayans, in place of this, wore robes or loose garments, well made and collarless, reaching to the instep, and embroidered in colors. All their costume, in fact, was in the Moorish manner, and was truly elegant and rich; and even today they consider it so” (Colin).—RIZAL.

⁵² This manner of headdress, and the long robe of the Visayans, have an analogy with the Japanese coiffure and kimono.—RIZAL.

⁵³ Barō.—RIZAL.

drawers of the same cloths and materials, and hats on their heads. The chiefs wear braids of wrought gold containing many designs, while many of them wear shoes. The chief women also wear beautiful shoes, many of them having shoes of velvet adorned with gold, and white garments like petticoats.

Men and women, and especially the chief people, are very clean and neat in their persons and clothing, and of pleasing address and grace. They dress their hair carefully, and regard it as being more ornamental when it is very black. They wash it with water in which has been boiled the bark of a tree called *gogo*.⁵⁴ They anoint it with aljonjoli oil, prepared with musk, and other perfumes. All are very careful of their teeth, which from a very early age they file and render even, with stones and iron.⁵⁵ They dye them a black color, which is lasting, and which preserves their teeth until they are very old, although it is ugly to look at.⁵⁶

They quite generally bathe the entire body in the rivers and creeks, both young and old, without reflecting that it could at any time be injurious to them;⁵⁷ for in their baths do they find their best

⁵⁴ A tree (*Entada purseta*) which grows in most of the provinces of the Philippines. It contains a sort of filament, from which is extracted a soapy foam, which is much used for washing clothes. This foam is also used to precipitate the gold in the sand of rivers. Rizal says the most common use is that described above.

⁵⁵ This custom still exists.—RIZAL.

⁵⁶ This custom exists also among the married women of Japan, as a sign of their chastity. It is now falling into disuse.—RIZAL.

⁵⁷ The Filipinos were careful not to bathe at the hour of the siesta, after eating, during the first two days of a cold, when they have the herpes, and some women during the period of menstruation.—RIZAL.

medicines. When an infant is born, they immediately bathe it, and the mother likewise. The women have needlework as their employment and occupation, and they are very clever at it, and at all kinds of sewing. They weave cloth and spin cotton, and serve in the houses of their husbands and fathers. They pound the rice for eating,⁵⁸ and prepare the other food. They raise fowls and swine, and keep the houses, while the men are engaged in the labors of the field, and in their fishing, navigation, and trading. They are not very chaste, either single or married women; while their husbands, fathers, or brothers are not very jealous or anxious about it. Both men and women are so selfish and greedy that, if they are paid, they are easily won over. When the husband finds his wife in adultery, he is smoothed and pacified without any trouble—although, since they have known Spaniards, some of those who assume to be more enlightened among them have sometimes killed the adulterers. Both men and women, especially the chiefs, walk slowly and sedately when upon their visits, and when going through the streets and to the temples; and are accompanied by many slaves, both male and female, with parasols of silk which they carry to protect them from the sun and rain. The women walk ahead and their female servants and slaves follow them; behind these walk their husbands, fathers, or brothers, with their man-servants and slaves.⁵⁹

Their ordinary food is rice pounded in wooden

⁵⁸ This work, although not laborious, is generally performed now by the men, while the women do only the actual cleaning of the rice.—RIZAL.

⁵⁹ This custom is still to be seen in some parts.—RIZAL.

mortars, and cooked – this is called *morisqueta*,⁶⁰ and is the ordinary bread of the whole country – boiled fish (which is very abundant), the flesh of swine, deer, and wild buffaloes (which they call *carabaos*). Meat and fish they relish better when it has begun to spoil and when it stinks.⁶¹ They also eat boiled camotes (which are sweet potatoes), beans, *quilites*,⁶² and other vegetables; all kinds of bananas, guavas, pineapples, custard apples, many varieties of oranges, and other varieties of fruits and herbs, with which the country teems. Their drink is a wine made from the tops of cocoa and nipa palm, of which there is a great abundance. They are grown and tended like vineyards, although without so much toil and labor. Drawing off the *tuba*,⁶³ they distil it, using for alembics their own little furnaces and utensils, to a greater or less strength, and it becomes brandy. This is drunk throughout the islands. It is a wine of the clarity of water, but strong and dry. If it be used with moderation, it acts as a medicine for the stomach, and is a protection against humors and all sorts of rheums. Mixed with Spanish wine, it makes a mild liquor, and one very palatable and healthful.

In the assemblies, marriages, and feasts of the natives of these islands, the chief thing consists in drinking this wine, day and night, without ceasing,

⁶⁰ A name given it by the Spaniards. Its Tagál name is *kanin*.—RIZAL.

⁶¹ The fish mentioned by Morga is not tainted, but is the *bagoong*.—RIZAL.

⁶² A term applied to certain plants (*Amaranthus*, *Celosia*, etc.) of which the leaves are boiled and eaten.

⁶³ From the Tagál *tubā*, meaning sap or juice.—RIZAL.

when the turn of each comes, some singing and others drinking. As a consequence, they generally become intoxicated without this vice being regarded as a dishonor or disgrace.⁶⁴

The weapons of this people are, in some provinces, bow and arrows. But those generally used throughout the islands are moderate-sized spears with well-made points; and certain shields of light wood, with their armholes fastened on the inside. These cover them from top to toe, and are called *carasas* [*kala-sag*]. At the waist they carry a dagger four fingers in breadth, the blade pointed, and a third of a vara in length; the hilt is of gold or ivory. The pommel is open and has two cross bars or projections, without any other guard. They are called *bararaos*. They have two cutting edges, and are kept in wooden scabbards, or those of buffalo-horn, admirably wrought.⁶⁵ With these they strike with the point, but more generally with the edge. When they go in pursuit of their opponent, they show great dexterity in seizing his hair with one hand, while with the other they cut off his head with one stroke of the *bararao*, and carry it away. They afterward keep the heads suspended in their houses, where they may be seen; and

⁶⁴ The Filipinos have reformed in this respect, due perhaps to the wine-monopoly. Colin says that those intoxicated by this wine were seldom disagreeable or dangerous, but rather more witty and sprightly; nor did they show any ill effects from drinking it.—RIZAL.

⁶⁵ This weapon has been lost, and even its name is gone. A proof of the decline into which the present Filipinos have fallen is the comparison of the weapons that they manufacture now, with those described to us by the historians. The hilts of the *talibones* now are not of gold or ivory, nor are their scabbards of horn, nor are they admirably wrought.—RIZAL.

Balarao, dagger, is a Vissayan word.—STANLEY.

of these they make a display, in order to be considered as valiant, and avengers of their enemies and of the injuries committed by them.⁶⁶

Since they have seen the Spaniards use their weapons, many of the natives handle the arquebuses and muskets quite skilfully. Before the arrival of the Spaniards they had bronze culverins and other pieces of cast iron, with which they defended their forts and settlements, although their powder is not so well refined as that of the Spaniards.

Their ships and boats are of many kinds; for on the rivers and creeks inland they use certain very large canoes, each made from one log, and others fitted with benches and made from planks, and built up on keels. They have vireys and barangays, which are certain quick and light vessels that lie low in the water, put together with little wooden nails. These are as slender at the stern as at the bow, and they can hold a number of rowers on both sides, who propel their vessels with *bucçeyes* or paddles, and with *gaones*⁶⁷ on the outside of the vessel; and they time their rowing to the accompaniment of some who sing in their language refrains by which they understand whether to hasten or retard their rowing.⁶⁸ Above the rowers is a platform or gangway, built of bamboo, upon which the fighting-men stand, in order not to interfere with the rowing of the oarsmen. In

⁶⁶ The only other people who now practice head-hunting are the Montenegrins.—STANLEY.

⁶⁷ A Tagál word meaning oar.—STANLEY.

⁶⁸ A common device among barbarous or semi-civilized peoples, and even among boatmen in general. These songs often contain many interesting and important bits of history, as well as of legendary lore.

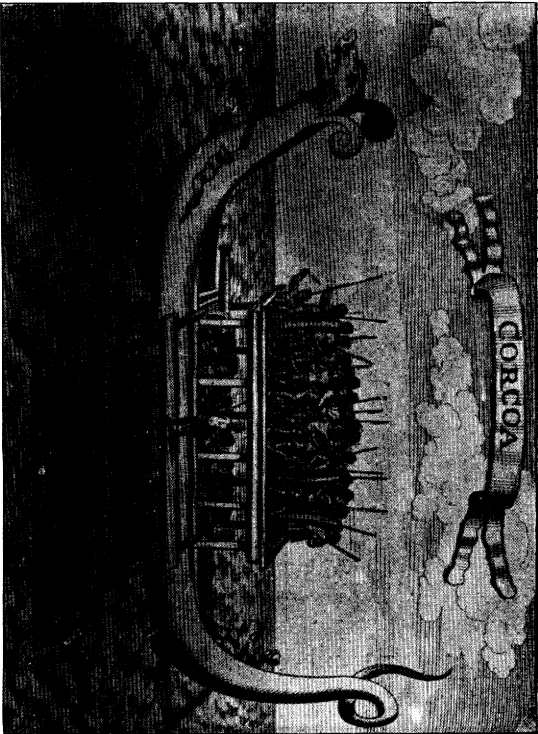
accordance with the capacity of the vessels is the number of men on these gangways. From that place they manage the sail, which is square and made of linen, and hoisted on a support or yard made of two thick bamboos, which serves as a mast. When the vessel is large, it also has a foresail of the same form. Both yards, with their tackle, can be lowered upon the gangway when the weather is rough. The helmsmen are stationed in the stern to steer. It carries another bamboo framework on the gangway itself; and upon this, when the sun shines hot, or it rains, they stretch an awning made from some mats, woven from palm-leaves. These are very bulky and close, and are called *cayanes*.⁶⁹ Thus all the ship and its crew are covered and protected. There are also other bamboo frameworks for each side of the vessel, which are so long as the vessel, and securely fastened on. They skim the water, without hindering the rowing, and serve as a counterpoise, so that the ship cannot overturn nor upset, however heavy the sea, or strong the wind against the sail. It may happen that the entire hull of these vessels, which have no decks, may fill with water and remain between wind and water, even until it is destroyed and broken up, without sinking, because of these counterpoises. These vessels have been used commonly throughout the islands since olden times. They have other larger vessels called *caracoas*, *lapis*, and *tapaques*, which are used to carry their merchandise, and which are very suitable, as they are roomy and draw but little water. They generally drag them ashore every night, at the mouths of rivers and creeks, among which they al-

⁶⁹ In Tagal these are called *Karang*, signifying awnings.—RIZAL and STANLEY.

ways navigate without going into the open sea or leaving the shore. All the natives can row and manage these boats. Some are so long that they can carry one hundred rowers on a side and thirty soldiers above to fight. The boats commonly used are barangays and vireys, which carry a less crew and fighting force. Now they put many of them together with iron nails instead of the wooden pegs and the joints in the planks, while the helms and bows have beaks like Castilian boats.⁷⁰

The land is well shaded in all parts by trees of different kinds, and fruit-trees which beautify it throughout the year, both along the shore and inland among the plains and mountains. It is very full of large and small rivers, of good fresh water, which flow into the sea. All of them are navigable, and abound in all kinds of fish, which are very pleasant to the taste. For the above reason there is a large supply of lumber, which is cut and sawed, dragged to the rivers, and brought down, by the natives. This lumber is very useful for houses and buildings, and for the construction of small and large vessels. Many

⁷⁰ The Filipinos, like the inhabitants of the Marianas — who are no less skilful and dexterous in navigation — far from progressing, have retrograded; since, although boats are now built in the islands, we might assert that they are all after European models. The boats that held one hundred rowers to a side and thirty soldiers have disappeared. The country that once, with primitive methods, built ships of about 2,000 toneladas, today [1890] has to go to foreign ports, as Hong-Kong, to give the gold wrenched from the poor, in exchange for unserviceable cruisers. The rivers are blocked up, and navigation in the interior of the islands is perishing, thanks to the obstacles created by a timid and mistrusting system of government; and there scarcely remains in the memory anything but the name of all that naval architecture. It has vanished, without modern improvements having come to replace it in such proportion as, during the past centuries, has occurred in adjacent countries. . . . — RIZAL.



View of corcoa (the vessel known as "caracoa");
from Stevens's *Collection of Voyages and*
Travels (London, 1711)
[From copy in library of Wisconsin State Historical Society]

very straight thick trees, light and pliable, are found, which are used as masts for ships and galleons. Consequently, vessels of any size may be fitted with masts from these trees, made of one piece of timber, without its being necessary to splice them or make them of different pieces. For the hulls of the ships, the keels, futtock-timbers, top-timbers, and any other kinds of supports and braces, compass-timbers, transoms, knees small and large, and rudders, all sorts of good timber are easily found; as well as good planking for the sides, decks, and upper-works, from very suitable woods.⁷¹

There are many native fruit-trees, such as the *sanctors*, *mabolos*, tamarinds, *nancas*, custard-apples, papaws, guavas, and everywhere many oranges, of all kinds—large and small, sweet and sour; citrons, lemons, and ten or twelve varieties of very healthful and palatable bananas.⁷² There are many cocoa-

⁷¹ It seems that some species of trees disappeared or became very scarce because of the excessive ship-building that took place later. One of them is the *betis*.—RIZAL.

Blanco states (*Flora*, ed. 1845, p. 281) that the *betis* (*Azola betis*) was common in Pampanga and other regions.

Delgado describes the various species of trees in the Philippines in the first six treatises of the first part of the fourth book of *Historia general de Filipinas* (Manila, 1892). He mentions by name more than seventy trees grown on the level plains and near the shores; more than forty fruit-trees; more than twenty-five species grown in the mountains; sixteen that actually grow in the water; and many kinds of palms. See also *Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1902), pp. 85-95, and Buzeta and Bravo's *Diccionario* (Madrid, 1850), i, pp. 29-36.

⁷² *Sanctor* is called *santol* (*Sandoricum indicum*—Cavanilles), in Delgado (*ut supra*, note 71). The tree resembles a walnut-tree. Its leaves are rounded and as large as the palm of the hand, and are dark green in color. Excellent preserves are made from the fruit, which was also eaten raw by the Indians. The leaves of the tree have medicinal properties and were used as poultices. *Mabolo* (*Diospyros discolor*—Willd.) signifies in Tagál a thing

palms bearing fruit of pleasant taste – from which is made wine and common oil, which is a very healing remedy for wounds; and other wild palms of the forests – that do not yield cocoa-nuts, but serve as wood, and from whose bark is made bonote, a tow for rigging and cables, and also for calking ships. Efforts have been made to plant olives and quinces, and other fruit-trees of España, but as yet they have had no success, except with pomegranates and grapevines, which bear fruit the second year. These bear abundance of exceedingly good grapes three times a year; and some fig-trees have succeeded. Vegetables of every kind grow well and very abundantly, but do not seed, and it is always necessary to bring the seeds from Castilla, China, or Japon.

In the Cagayan provinces are found chestnut-trees, which produce fruit. In other districts are found pines and other trees which yield certain very large

or fruit enclosed in a soft covering. The tree is not very high. The leaves are large, and incline to a red color when old. The fruit is red and as large as a medium-sized quince, and has several large stones. The inside of the fruit is white, and is sweet and firm, and fragrant, but not very digestible. The wood resembles ebony, is very lustrous, and is esteemed for its solidity and hardness. The *nanca* [*angka*, *angca*; translated by Stanley, jack-fruit] (*Artocarpus integrifolia* – Willd.), was taken to the Philippines from India, where it was called *yaca*. The tree is large and wide-spreading, and has long narrow leaves. It bears fruit not only on the branches, but on the trunk and roots. The fruit is gathered when ripe, at which time it exhales an aromatic odor. On opening it a yellowish or whitish meat is found, which is not edible. But in this are found certain yellow stones, with a little kernel inside resembling a large bean; this is sweet, like the date, but has a much stronger odor. It is indigestible, and when eaten should be well masticated. The shells are used in cooking and resemble chestnuts. The wood is yellow, solid, and especially useful in making certain musical instruments. Buzeta and Bravo (*Diccionario*, i, p. 35) say that there are more than fifty-seven species of bananas in the Philippines.

pine-nuts, with a hard shell and a pleasant taste, which are called piles.⁷³ There is abundance of cedar which is called *calanta*, a beautiful red wood called *asana*,⁷⁴ ebony of various qualities, and many other precious woods for all uses. The meat generally eaten is that of swine, of which there is a great abundance, and it is very palatable and wholesome.

Beef is eaten, cattle being raised abundantly in stock-farms in many different parts of the islands. The cattle are bred from those of China and Nueva España.⁷⁵ The Chinese cattle are small, and excellent breeders. Their horns are very small and twisted,

⁷³ Pilê (*Canarium commune* - Linn.). Delgado (*ut supra*) says that this was one of the most notable and useful fruits of the islands. It was generally confined to mountainous regions and grew wild. The natives used the fruit and extracted a white pitch from the tree. The fruit has a strong, hard shell. The fruit itself resembles an almond, both in shape and taste, although it is larger. The tree is very high, straight, and wide-spreading. Its leaves are larger than those of the almond-tree.

⁷⁴ Delgado (*ut supra*) describes the tree (*Cedrela toona* - Roxb.) called *calanta* in Tagál, and *lanipga* in Visayan. The tree is fragrant and has wood of a reddish color. It was used for making the hulls of vessels, because of its strength and lightness. The same author describes also the *asana* (*Pterocarpus indicus* - Willd.) or as it is called in the Visayas, *naga* or *narra* - as an aromatic tree, of which there are two varieties, male and female. The wood of the male tree is pinkish, while that of the female tree is inclined to white. They both grow to a great size and are used for work requiring large timber. The wood has good durable qualities and is very impervious to water, for which reason it was largely used as supports for the houses. Water in which pieces of the wood were placed, or the water that stood in vessels made of this wood, had a medicinal value in dropsy and other diseases. In the provinces of Albay and Camarines the natives made curiously-shaped drinking vessels from this wood.

⁷⁵ So many cattle were raised that Father Gaspar de San Agustin, when speaking of Dumangas, says: "In this convent we have a large ranch for the larger cattle, of so many cows that they have at times numbered more than thirty thousand . . . and likewise this ranch contains many fine horses." - RIZAL.

and some cattle can move them. They have a large hump upon the shoulders, and are very manageable beasts. There are plenty of fowls like those of Castilla, and others very large, which are bred from fowls brought from China. They are very palatable, and make fine capons. Some of these fowls are black in feather, skin, flesh, and bones, and are pleasant to the taste.⁷⁶ Many geese are raised, as well as swans, ducks, and tame pigeons brought from China. There is abundance of flesh of wild game, such as venison, and wild boars, and in some parts porcupines. There are many buffaloes, which are called carabaos, which are raised in the fields and are very spirited; others are brought tame from China; these are very numerous, and very handsome. These last are used only for milking, and their milk is thicker and more palatable than that of cows.

Goats and kids are raised, although their flesh is not savory, because of the humidity of the country. These animals sicken and die for that reason, and because they eat certain poisonous herbs. Ewes and rams, although often brought from Nueva España, never multiply. Consequently there are none of these animals, for the climate and pasturage has not as yet seemed suitable for them.⁷⁷ There were no horses, mares, or asses in the islands, until the Spaniards had them brought from China and brought them from Nueva España. Asses and mules are very rare, but there are many horses and mares. Some farms are being stocked with them, and those born there (mixed

⁷⁶ To the flesh of this fowl, called in Tagál *ulikbâ*, are attributed medicinal virtues.—RIZAL.

⁷⁷ These animals now [1890] exist in the islands, but are held in small esteem.—RIZAL.

breeds for the most part) turn out well, and have good colors, are good tempered and willing to work, and are of medium size. Those brought from China are small, very strong, good goers, treacherous, quarrelsome, and bad-tempered. Some horses of good colors are brought from Japon. They have well-shaped bodies, thick hair, large fetlocks, large legs and front hoofs, which makes them look like draft-horses. Their heads are rather large, and their mouths hard. They run but slowly, but walk well, and are spirited, and of much mettle. The daily feed of the horses consists throughout the year of green provender,⁷⁸ besides rice in the husk, which keeps them very fat.⁷⁹

There are many fowls and field birds, and wild birds of wonderful colors and very beautiful. There are no singing birds suitable for keeping in cages, although some calendar larks [*Calandrias*] called *fimbaros*,⁸⁰ smaller than those of España, are brought from Japon, whose song is most sweet. There are many turtle-doves, ring-doves; other doves with an extremely green plumage, and red feet and beaks; and others that are white with a red spot on the breast, like a pelican. Instead of quail, there are

⁷⁸ See chapter on the mammals of the islands, in *Report of U. S. Philippine Commission*, 1900, iii, pp. 307-312. At its end is the statement that but one species of monkey is known, and one other is reported, to exist in the Philippines; and that "the various other species of monkey which have been assigned to the Philippines by different authors are myths pure and simple."

⁷⁹ *Camalote*, for *gamalote*, a plant like maize, with a leaf a yard long and an inch wide. This plant grows to a height of two yards and a half, and when green serves for food for horses (Caballero's *Dictionary*, Madrid, 1856).—STANLEY.

At that time the name for *zacate* (hay).—RIZAL.

⁸⁰ In Japanese *fimbari*, larks (Medhurst's *Japanese Vocabulary*).—STANLEY.

certain birds resembling them, but smaller, which are called *povos*⁸¹ and other smaller birds called *mayuelas*.⁸² There are many wild chickens and cocks, which are very small, and taste like partridge. There are royal, white, and grey herons, flycatchers, and other shore birds, ducks, *lavancos*,⁸³ crested cranes, sea-crows, eagles, eagle-owls, and other birds of prey, although none are used for hawking. There are jays and thrushes as in España, and white storks and cranes.⁸⁴ They do not rear peacocks, rabbits, or hares, although they have tried to do so. It is believed that the wild animals in the forests and fields eat and destroy them, namely, the cats, foxes, badgers, and large and small rats, which are very numerous, and other land animals.⁸⁵

⁸¹ *Pogos*, from the Tagál *pugô*.—RIZAL.

Delgado (*ut supra*) describes the *pogos* as certain small gray birds, very similar to the sparrows in Spain. They are very greedy, and if undisturbed would totally destroy the rice-fields. Their scientific name is *Excalfactoria chinensis* (Linn.).

⁸² Stanley conjectures that this word is a misprint for *maynelas*, a diminutive of *maina*, a talking bird. Delgado (*ut supra*) describes a bird called *maya* (*Munia jabori*—Cab.; *Ploceus baya*—Blyth.; and *Ploceus hypoxantha*—Tand.), which resembles the pogo, being smaller and of a cinnamon color, which pipes and has an agreeable song.

⁸³ Stanley translates this as "wild ducks." Delgado (*ut supra*) describes a bird called *lapay* (*Dendrocygna vagans*—Eyton.), as similar to the duck in body, but with larger feet, which always lives in the water, and whose flesh is edible.

⁸⁴ For descriptions of the birds in the Philippines, see Delgado (*ut supra*) book v, part i, 1st treatise, pp. 813-853; *Report of U. S. Philippine Commission*, 1900, iii, pp. 312-316; and *Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1902), pp. 170, 171. There are more than five hundred and ninety species of birds in the islands, of which three hundred and twenty-five are peculiar to the archipelago, and largely land birds. There are thirty-five varieties of doves and pigeons, all edible.

⁸⁵ There are now domestic rabbits, and plenty of peacocks.—RIZAL.

Throughout these islands are found a great number of monkeys, of various sizes, with which at times the trees are covered. There are green and white parrots, but they are stupid in talking; and very small parroquets, of beautiful green and red colors, which talk as little. The forests and settlements have many serpents, of various colors, which are generally larger than those of Castilla. Some have been seen in the forests of unusual size, and wonderful to behold.⁸⁶ The most harmful are certain slender snakes, of less than one vara in length, which dart down upon passersby from the trees (where they generally hang), and sting them; their venom is so powerful that within twenty-four hours the person dies raving.

There are many very large scorpions in the rivers and creeks, and a great number of crocodiles, which are very bloodthirsty and cruel. They quite commonly pull from their bancas the natives who go in those boats, and cause many injuries among the horned cattle and the horses of the stock-farms, when they go to drink. And although the people fish for them often and kill them, they are never diminished in number. For that reason, the natives set closely-grated divisions and enclosures in the rivers and creeks of their settlements, where they bathe. There they enter the water to bathe, secure from those monsters, which they fear so greatly that they venerate and adore them, as if they were beings superior to themselves. All their oaths and execrations, and those which are of any weight with them (even among the Christians) are, thus expressed: "So may

⁸⁶ Doubtless the python, which is often domesticated in the Philippines. See VOL. XII, p. 259, note 73.

the crocodile kill him!" They call the crocodile *buhaya* in their language. It has happened when some one has sworn falsely, or when he has broken his word, that then some accident has occurred to him with the crocodile, which God, whom he offends, has so permitted for the sake of the authority and purity of the truth, and the promise of it.⁸⁷

The fisheries of sea and rivers are most abundant, and include all kinds of fish; both of fresh and salt water. These are generally used as food throughout the entire country. There are many good sardines, sea-eels, sea-brems (which they call *bacocos*), daces, skates, *bicudas*, *tanguingues*, soles, *plantanos*,⁸⁸ *taraquitos*, needle-fish, gilt-heads, and eels; large oysters, mussels,⁸⁹ *porcebes*, crawfish, shrimp, sea-spiders, center-fish, and all kinds of cockles, shad, white fish, and in the Tajo River of Cagayan,⁹⁰ during their season, a great number of *bobos*, which

⁸⁷ La Gironière (*Twenty Years in the Philippines*—trans. from French, London, 1853) describes an interesting fight with a huge crocodile near his settlement of Jala-Jala. The natives begged for the flesh in order to dry it and use it as a specific against asthma, as they believed that any asthmatic person who lived on the flesh for a certain time would be infallibly cured. Another native wished the fat as an antidote for rheumatic pain. The head of this huge reptile was presented to an American, who in turn presented it to the Boston Museum. Unfortunately La Gironière's picturesque descriptions must often be taken with a grain of salt. For some information regarding the reptiles of the islands see *Report of U. S. Philippine Commission*, 1900, iii, pp. 317-319.

⁸⁸ Unless we are mistaken, there is a fish in the Filipinas called *Pámpano*.—RIZAL.

⁸⁹ For catalogue and scientific description of the mollusks of the Philippines, see the work of Joaquín González Hidalgo—now (1904) in course of publication by the Real Academia de Ciencias of Madrid—*Estudios preliminares sobre la fauna malacológica de las Islas Filipinas*.

⁹⁰ The Río Grande.—RIZAL.

come down to spawn at the bar. In the lake of Bonbon, a quantity of tunny-fish, not so large as those of España, but of the same shape, flesh, and taste, are caught. Many sea-fish are found in the sea, such as whales, sharks, *caellas*, *marajos*, *bufeos*, and other unknown species of extraordinary forms and size. In the year of five hundred and ninety-six, during a furious storm in the islands, a fish was flung into shallow water on one of the Luzon coasts near the province of Camarines. It was so huge and misshapen, that although it lay in more than three and one-half braças of water, it could not again get afloat, and died there. The natives said that they had never seen anything like it, nor another shaped like it. Its head was of wonderful size and fierce aspect. On its frontal it bore two horns, which pointed toward its back. One of them was taken to Manila. It was covered with its skin or hide, but had no hair or scales. It was white, and twenty feet long. Where it joined the head it was as thick as the thigh, and gradually tapered proportionally to the tip. It was somewhat curved and not very round; and to all appearances, quite solid. It caused great wonder in all beholders.⁹¹

There is a fresh-water lake in the island of Luzon, five leguas from Manila, which contains a quantity of fish. Many rivers flow into this lake, and it empties into the sea through the river flowing from it to Manila. It is called La Laguna de Bay ["Bay Lake"]. It is thirty leguas in circumference, and has an uninhabited island in its middle, where game abounds.⁹² Its shores are lined with many native vil-

⁹¹ No fish is known answering to this description.—STANLEY.

⁹² The island of Talim.—RIZAL.

lages. The natives navigate the lake, and commonly cross it in their skiffs. At times it is quite stormy and dangerous to navigate, when the north winds blow, for these winds make it very boisterous, although it is very deep.

Twenty leguas from Manila, in the province of Bonbon, is another lake of the same name [Bonbon], not so extensive as the former, but with a great abundance of fish. The natives' method of catching them is by making corrals⁹³ of bejucos, which are certain slender canes or rushes, solid and very pliant and strong; these are employed for making cables for the natives' boats, as well as other kinds of ropes. They catch the fish inside these corrals, having made the enclosures fast by means of stakes. They also catch the fish in wicker baskets made from the *bejucos*, but most generally with *atarrayas*,⁹⁴ *esparaveles*, other small *barrederas*,⁹⁵ and with hand lines and hooks.⁹⁶ The most usual food of the natives is a fish as small as *pejerreyes*.⁹⁷ They dry and cure these fish in the sun and air, and cook them in many styles. They like them better than large fish. It is called *laulau* among them.⁹⁸

⁹³ Retana thinks (*Zúñiga*, ii, p. 545*) that this device was introduced among the Filipinos by the Borneans.

⁹⁴ A species of fishing-net. Stanley's conjecture is wrong.

⁹⁵ *Esparavel* is a round fishing-net, which is jerked along by the fisher through rivers and shallow places. *Barredera* is a net of which the meshes are closer and tighter than those of common nets, so that the smallest fish may not escape it.

⁹⁶ Cf. methods of fishing of North American Indians, *Jesuit Relations*, vi, pp. 309-311, liv, pp. 131, 306-307.

⁹⁷ A species of fish in the Mediterranean, about three pulgadas [inches] long. Its color is silver, lightly specked with black.

⁹⁸ The fish now called *lawlaw* is the dry, salted sardine. The

Instead of olives and other pickled fruit, they have a green fruit, like walnuts, which they call *paos*.⁹⁹ Some are small, and others larger in size, and when prepared they have a pleasant taste. They also prepare *charas*¹⁰⁰ in pickle brine, and all sorts of vegetables and greens, which are very appetizing. There is much ginger, and it is eaten green, pickled, and preserved. There are also quantities of *cachumba*¹⁰¹ instead of saffron and other condiments. The ordinary dainty throughout these islands, and in many kingdoms of the mainland of those regions, is *buyo* [betel]. This is made from a tree,¹⁰² whose leaf is shaped like that of the mulberry. The fruit resembles an oak acorn, and is white inside.¹⁰³ This

author evidently alludes to the *tawilis* of Batangas, or to the *dilis*, which is still smaller, and is used as a staple by the natives.—RIZAL.

For information regarding the fishes of the Philippines, see Delgado (*ut supra*), book v, part iv, pp. 909-943; *Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands* (*ut supra*), pp. 171-172; and (with description of methods of fishing) *Report of U. S. Philippine Commission*, 1900, iii, pp. 319-324.

⁹⁹ Pahõ. A species of very small mango from one and one-half to five centimeters in its longer diameter. It has a soft pit, and exhales a strong pitchy odor.—RIZAL.

¹⁰⁰ A Spanish word signifying a cryptogamous plant; perhaps referring to some species of mushroom.

¹⁰¹ In Tagál this is *kasubhã*. It comes from the Sanskrit *ka-umbha*, or Malay *kasumba* (Pardo de Tavera's *El Sanscrito en la lengua tagalog*).—RIZAL.

This plant is the safflower or bastard saffron (*Certhamus tinctorius*); its flowers are used in making a red dye.

¹⁰² Not a tree, but a climber. The plants are cultivated by training them about some canes planted in the middle of certain little channels which serve to convey irrigation to the plant twice each day. A plantation of betel—or *ikmó*, as the Tagáls call it—much resembles a German hop-garden.—RIZAL.

¹⁰³ This fruit is not that of the betel or *buyo*, but of the *bonga* (Tagál *buñga*), or areca palm.—RIZAL.

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fruit, which is called *bonga*, is cut lengthwise in strips, and each strip is put into an envelope or covering made from the leaf. With the *bonga* is thrown in a powder of quick lime.¹⁰⁴ This compound is placed in the mouth and chewed. It is so strong a mixture, and burns so much, that it induces sleep and intoxication. It burns the mouths of those not used to it, and causes them to smart. The saliva and all the mouth are made as red as blood. It does not taste bad. After having been chewed ¹⁰⁵ for a considerable time it is spit out, when it no longer has any juice, which is called *çapa* [sapá]. They consider very beneficial that quantity of the juice which has gone into the stomach, for strengthening it, and for various diseases. It strengthens and preserves the teeth and gums from all inflammations, decay, and aches. They tell other wonderful effects of it. What has been seen is that the natives and Spaniards – laymen and religious, men and women – use it so commonly and generally that mornings and afternoons, at parties and visits, and even alone in their houses, all their refreshments and luxuries consist of buyos served on heavily-gilded and handsomely adorned plates and trays like chocolate in Nueva España. In these poison has been often administered from which the persons eating them have died, and that quite commonly.

The natives (especially the chiefs) take whenever they leave their houses, for show and entertainment,

¹⁰⁴ Not quicklime, but well slaked lime.—RIZAL.

Rizal misprints *un poco de cal viva* for *vn poluc de cal viua*.

¹⁰⁵ The original word is *marcada*. Rizal is probably correct in regarding it as a misprint for *mascada*, chewed.

their boxes of buyos – which they call *buccetas*¹⁰⁶ – ready to use, and the leaf, *bonga*, and quick lime, separately. With these handsome boxes, which are made of metal and of other materials, they carry the scissors and other tools for making the buyo with cleanliness and neatness. Wherever they may stop, they make and use their buyo. In the pariáns, or bazars, buyos are sold ready made, and the outfit for making them.¹⁰⁷

The natives of these islands quite commonly use as venoms and poisons the herbs of that class found throughout the islands. They are so efficacious and deadly that they produce wonderful effects. There is a lizard, commonly found in the houses, somewhat dark-green in color, one palmo long, and as thick as three fingers, which is called *chacon*.¹⁰⁸ They put this in a joint of bamboo, and cover it up. The slaver of this animal during its imprisonment is gathered. It is an exceedingly strong poison, when introduced as above stated, in the food or drink, in however minute quantities. There are various herbs known and gathered by the natives for the same use. Some of them are used dry, and others green; some are to be mixed in food, and others inhaled. Some kill by simply touching them with the hands or feet, or by sleeping upon them. The natives are so skilful in making compounds from these substances, that they mix and apply them in such a manner that they take

¹⁰⁶ It is not clear who call these caskets by that name. I imagine it to be the Spanish name, properly spelt *buxeta*. The king of Calicut's betel box is called *buxen* in the Barcelona MS. of the Malabar coasts.—STANLEY.

¹⁰⁷ See VOL. IV, p. 222, note 31; also Delgado (*ut supra*), pp. 667-669. Delgado says that *bonga* signifies fruit.

¹⁰⁸ Tagál, *tukō*.—RIZAL.

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effect at once, or at a set time – long or short, as they wish, even after a year. Many persons usually die wretchedly by these means—especially Spaniards, who lack foresight, and who are tactless and hated because of the ill-treatment that they inflict upon the natives with whom they deal, either in the collection of their tributes, or in other matters in which they employ them, without there being any remedy for it. There are certain poisonous herbs, with which, when the natives gather them, they carry, all ready, other herbs which act as antidotes. In the island of Bohol is one herb of such nature that the natives approach it from windward when they cut it from the shrub on which it grows; for the very air alone that blows over the herb is deadly. Nature did not leave this danger without a remedy, for other herbs and roots are found in the same islands, of so great efficacy and virtue that they destroy and correct the poison and mischief of the others, and are used when needed. Accordingly, when one knows what poison has been given him, it is not difficult, if recourse be had in time, to cure it, by giving the herb that is antidotal to such poison. At times it has happened that pressure has been put upon the person suspected of having committed the evil to make him bring the antidote, by which it has been remedied. There are also other general antidotes, both for preservation against poison and for mitigating the effects of poison that has been administered. But the most certain and efficacious antidotes are certain small flies or insects, of a violet color, found on certain bushes in the islands of Pintados. These are shut up in a clean bamboo joint, and covered over. There they breed and multiply. Ground rice is put in with them, and they exist there-

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on. Every week they are visited ¹⁰⁹ and the old rice removed and new rice put in, and they are kept alive by this means. If six of these insects are taken in a spoonful of wine or water – for they emit no bad odor, and taste like cress – they produce a wonderful effect. Even when people go to banquets or dinners where there is any suspicion, they are wont to take with them these insects, in order to preserve and assure themselves from any danger of poison and venom.

All these islands are, in many districts, rich in placers and mines of gold, a metal which the natives dig and work. However, since the advent of the Spaniards in the land, the natives proceed more slowly in this, and content themselves with what they already possess in jewels and gold ingots, handed down from antiquity and inherited from their ancestors.¹¹⁰ This is considerable, for he must be poor and wretched who has no gold chains, calombigas [bracelets], and earrings.

Some placers and mines were worked at Paracali in the province of Camarines, where there is good gold

¹⁰⁹ This word in the original is *vifitandolas*; Rizal makes it *irritandolas* (shaking or irritating them), but there are not sufficient grounds for the change.

¹¹⁰ The Indians, upon seeing that wealth excited the rapacity of the encomenderos and soldiers, abandoned the working of the mines, and the religious historians assert that they counseled them to a similar action in order to free them from annoyances. Nevertheless, according to Colin (who was "informed by well-disposed natives") more than 100,000 pesos of gold annually, conservatively stated, was taken from the mines during his time, after eighty years of abandonment. According to "a manuscript of a grave person who had lived long in these islands" the first tribute of the two provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan alone amounted to 109,500 pesos. A single encomendero, in 1587, sent 3,000 taheles of gold in the "Santa Ana," which was captured by Cavendish. RIZAL.

mixed with copper. This commodity is also traded in the Ylocos, for at the rear of this province, which borders the seacoast, are certain lofty and rugged mountains which extend as far as Cagayan. On the slopes of these mountains, in the interior, live many natives, as yet unsubdued, and among whom no incursion has been made, who are called Ygolotes. These natives possess rich mines, many of gold and silver mixed. They are wont to dig from them only the amount necessary for their wants. They descend to certain places to trade this gold (without completing its refining or preparation), with the Ylocos; there they exchange it for rice, swine, carabaos, cloth, and other things that they need.¹¹¹ The Ylocos complete its refining and preparation, and by their medium it is distributed throughout the country. Although an effort has been made with these Ygolotes to discover their mines, and how they work them, and their method of working the metal, nothing definite has been learned, for the Ygolotes fear that the Spaniards will go to seek them for their gold, and say that they keep the gold better in the earth than in their houses.¹¹²

There are also many gold mines and placers in the other islands, especially among the Pintados, on the Botuan River in Mindanao, and in Sebu, where a mine of good gold is worked, called Taribon. If the

¹¹¹ This was prohibited later.—RIZAL.

¹¹² See VOL. XIV, pp. 301-304.

According to Hernando de los Rios the province of Pangasinan was said to contain a quantity of gold, and that Guido de Labazaris sent some soldiers to search for it; but they returned in a sickly state and suppressed all knowledge of the mines in order not to be sent back there. The Dominican monks also suppressed all knowledge of the mines on account of the tyranny of which gold had been the cause in the West Indies.—STANLEY.

industry and efforts of the Spaniards were to be converted into the working of the gold, as much would be obtained from any one of these islands as from those provinces which produce the most in the world. But since they attend to other means of gain rather than to this, as will be told in due time, they do not pay the proper attention to this matter.

In some of these islands pearl oysters are found, especially in the Calamianes, where some have been obtained that are large and exceedingly clear and lustrous.¹¹³ Neither is this means of profit utilized. In all parts, seed pearls are found in the ordinary oysters, and there are oysters as large as a buckler. From the [shells of the] latter the natives manufacture beautiful articles. There are also very large sea turtles in all the islands. Their shells are utilized by the natives, and sold as an article of commerce to the Chinese and Portuguese, and other nations who go after them and esteem them highly, because of the beautiful things made from them.

On the coasts of any of these islands are found many small white snail shells, called *siguei*. The natives gather them and sell them by measure to the Siamese, Cambodians, Pantanes, and other peoples of the mainland. It serves there as money, and those nations trade with it, as they do with cacao-beans in Nueva España.¹¹⁴

Carabao horns are used as merchandise in trading

¹¹³ Pearl-fishing is still carried on along the coasts of Mindanao and Palawan, and in the Sulu archipelago. In the latter region pearls are very abundant and often valuable; the fisheries there are under the control of the sultan of Sulu, who rents them, appropriating for himself the largest pearls.

¹¹⁴ Probably the cowry (*Cypræa moneta*). Crawford states (*Dict. Ind. Islands*, p. 117) that in the Asiatic archipelago this shell is found only on the shores of the Sulu group, and that it

with China; and deerskins and dye-wood with Japon. The natives make use of everything in trading with those nations and derive much profit therefrom.

In this island of Luzon, especially in the provinces of Manila, Panpanga, Pangasinan, and Ylocos, certain earthenware jars [*tibores*] are found among the natives. They are very old, of a brownish color, and not handsome. Some are of medium size, and others are smaller, and they have certain marks and stamps. The natives are unable to give any explanation of where or when they got them, for now they are not brought to the islands or made there. The Japanese seek them and esteem them, for they have found that the root of a plant called *cha* [tea] – which is drunk hot, as a great refreshment and medicine, among the kings and lords of Japon – is preserved and keeps only in these tibors. These are so highly valued throughout Japon, that they are regarded as the most precious jewels of their closets and household furniture. A tiber is worth a great sum, and the Japanese adorn them outside with fine gold beautifully chased, and keep them in brocade cases. Some tibors are valued and sold for two thousand taes of eleven reals to the tae, or for less, according to the quality of the tiber. It makes no difference if they are cracked or chipped, for that does not hinder them from holding the tea. The natives of these islands sell them to the Japanese for the best price possible, and seek them carefully for this profit. However, few are found now, because of the assiduity with which the natives have applied themselves to that search.¹¹⁵

“seems never to have been used for money among the Indian Islanders as it has immemorially been by the Hindus.”

¹¹⁵ Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines* (Eng. trans., London,

At times the natives have found large pieces of ambergris on the coasts. When they discovered that the Spaniards value it, they gathered it, and have made profit from it. The past year of six hundred and two, some natives found in the island of Sebu a good-sized piece of ambergris, and when their encomendero heard of it, he took it, and traded with them secretly for it, on the account of their tribute. It is said that it weighed a good number of libras. Afterward he brought it out and sold it by the ounce at a higher rate.¹¹⁶

In the province and river of Butuan – which is pacified and assigned to Spaniards, and is located in the island of Mindanao – the natives practice another industry, which is very useful. As they possess many civet cats, although smaller than those of Guinea, they make use of the civet and trade it. This they do easily, for, when the moon is in the crescent, they hunt the cats with nets, and capture many of them. Then when they have obtained the civet, they loose the cats. They also capture and cage some of them, which are sold in the islands at very low prices.¹¹⁷

1875), devotes a portion of his chapter xv to these jars. He mentions the great prices paid by the Japanese for these vessels. On p. 164, occurs a translation of the above paragraph, but it has been mistranslated in two places. Stanley cites the similar jars found among the Dyaks of Borneo – the best called *gusih* – which were valued at from \$1,500 to \$3,000, while the second grade were sold for \$400. That they are very ancient is proved by one found among other remains of probably the copper age. From the fact that they have been found in Cambodia, Siam, CochinChina, and the Philippines, Rizal conjectures that the peoples of these countries may have had a common center of civilization at one time.

¹¹⁶ “Not many years ago,” says Colin (1663), “a large piece [of ambergris] was found in the island of Joló, that weighed more than eight arrobas, of the best kind, namely, the gray.”—RIZAL.

¹¹⁷ This industry must now be forgotten, for it is never heard of.—RIZAL.

Cotton is raised abundantly throughout the islands. It is spun and sold in the skein to the Chinese and other nations, who come to get it. Cloth of different patterns is also woven from it, and the natives also trade that. Other cloths, called medriñaques, are woven from the banana leaf.¹¹⁸

The islands of Babuytanes¹¹⁹ consist of many small islands lying off the upper coast of the province of Cagayan. They are inhabited by natives, whose chief industry consists in going to Cagayan, in their tapas, with swine, fowls, and other food, and ebony spears, for exchange. The islands are not assigned as encomiendas, nor is any tribute collected from them. There are no Spaniards among them, as those natives are of less understanding and less civilized [than the others]. Accordingly no Christians have been made among them, and they have no justices.

Other islands, called the Catenduanes, lie off the other head of the island of Luzon, opposite the province of Camarines, in fourteen degrees of north latitude, near the strait of Espiritu Santo. They are islands densely populated with natives of good disposition, who are all assigned to Spaniards. They possess instruction and churches, and have an alcalde-mayor who administers justice to them. Most of them cultivate the soil, but some are engaged in gold-washing, and in trading between various islands, and with the mainland of Luzon, very near those islands.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Perhaps Morga alludes to the *sinamay*, which was woven from abaká, or filament of the plant *Musa textilis*. The abaká is taken from the trunk and not the leaf.—RIZAL.

¹¹⁹ This name seems to be Malay, *Babu-utan*, wild swine.—STANLEY.

¹²⁰ The men of these islands were excellent carpenters and ship-

The island of Luzon has a bay thirty leguas in circumference on its southern coast, situated about one hundred leguas from the cape of Espiritu Santo, which is the entrance to the Capul channel. Its entrance is narrow, and midway contains an island called Miraveles [*i.e.*, Corregidor] lying obliquely across it, which makes the entrance narrow. This island is about two leguas long and one-half legua wide. It is high land and well shaded by its many trees. It contains a native settlement of fifty persons, and there the watchman of the bay has his fixed abode and residence. There are channels at both ends of the island, where one may enter the bay. The one at the south is one-half legua wide, and has a rock in its middle called El Fraile ["the friar"]. The one on the north is much narrower, but any ships of any

builders. "They make many very light vessels, which they take through the vicinity for sale in a very curious manner. They build a large vessel, undecked, without iron nail or any fastening. Then, according to the measure of its hull, they make another vessel that fits into it. Within that they put a second and a third. Thus a large biroco contains ten or twelve vessels, called biroco, virey, barangay, and binitan." These natives were "tattooed, and were excellent rowers and sailors; and although they are upset often, they never drown." The women are very masculine. "They do not drink from the rivers, although the water is very clear, because it gives them nausea. . . . The women's costumes are chaste and pretty, for they wear petticoats in the Bisayan manner, of fine medriñaque, and *lamboncillos*, which resemble close-fitting sayuelos [*i.e.*, woolen shifts worn by certain classes of religious]. They wear long robes of the same fine medriñaque. They gather the hair, which is neatly combed, into a knot, on top of the head, and place a rose in it. On their forehead they wear a band of very fine wrought gold, two fingers wide. It is very neatly worked and on the side encircling the head it is covered with colored taffeta. In each ear they wear three gold earrings, one in the place where Spanish women wear them, and two higher up. On their feet they wear certain coverings of thin brass, which sound when they walk." (The citations herein are from Colin.) These islands have also retrograded.—RIZAL.

draft whatever can enter and go out by both channels. The entire bay is of good depth, and clean, and has good anchorages in all parts. It is eight leguas from these entrances to the colony of Manila and the bar of the river. A large harbor is formed two leguas south of Manila, with a point of land that shelters it. That point has a native settlement called Cabit,¹²¹ and it gives name to the harbor, which is used as a port for the vessels. It is very capacious and well sheltered from the vendavals – whether the southeast, and southwest, the west, and west-southwest, or the north-northeast and north winds. It has a good anchorage, with a clean and good bottom. There is a good entrance quite near the land, more than one and one-half leguas wide, for the ingress and egress of vessels. All the shores of this bay are well provided with abundant fisheries, of all kinds. They are densely inhabited by natives. Above Manila there is a province of more than twenty leguas in extent called La Pampanga. This province possesses many rivers and creeks that irrigate it. They all flow and empty into the bay. This province contains many settlements of natives, and considerable quantities of rice, fruits, fish, meat, and other foods.¹²²

¹²¹ Cavite derives its name from the Tagál word *cavit*, a creek, or bend, or hook, for such is its form.—STANLEY.

¹²² This province had decreased so greatly in population and agriculture, a half century later, that Gaspar de San Agustin said: "Now it no longer has the population of the past, because of the insurrection of that province, when Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara was governor of these islands, and because of the incessant cutting of the timber for the building of his Majesty's ships, which prevents them from cultivating their extremely fertile plain." Later, when speaking of Guagua or Wawà, he says: "This town was formerly very wealthy because of its many chiefs, and because of the abundant harvests gathered in its spacious plains, which are now submerged by the water of the sea."—RIZAL.

The bar of the river of Manila, which is in the same bay, near the colony of Manila on one side and Tondo on the other, is not very deep because of certain sand shoals on it, which change their position at the time of the freshets and obstruct it. Consequently, although the water is deep enough for any vessel past the bar, still, unless they are fragatas, vireys, or other small vessels, they cannot pass the bar to enter the river. In respect to galleys, galliots, and the vessels from China, which draw but little water, they must enter empty, and at high tide, and by towing. Such vessels anchor in the bay outside the bar, and, for greater security enter the port of Cabit.

There is another good port called Ybalon,¹²³ twenty leguas from the channel of the same island of Luzon, which is sheltered from the vendavals, and has a good entrance and anchorage. There the vessels that enter to escape the vendaval find shelter, and wait until the brisa returns, by which to go to Manila, eighty leguas away.

On the coasts of Pangasinan, Ylocos, and Cagayan, there are some ports and bars, where ships can enter and remain, such as the harbor of Marihuma,¹²⁴ the port El Frayle ["the friar"],¹²⁵ that of Bolinao, the bar of Pangasinan, that of Bigan, the bar of Camalaya, at the mouth of the Tajo River (which goes up two leguas to the chief settlement of Cagayan) – besides other rivers, bars, harbors, and shelters of less account for smaller vessels throughout the coasts of this island.

Quite near this large island of Luzon, many other

¹²³ Now the port of Sorsogón.— RIZAL.

¹²⁴ Now the port of Mariveles (?).— RIZAL.

¹²⁵ Subik (?).— RIZAL.

islands, large and small, are located; they are inhabited by the same natives as Luzon, who have gold placers, sowed fields, and their trading. Such are Marinduque, Tablas Island, Mazbate, Burias, Banton, Bantonillo, and others of less importance. The nearest of them to Manila is the island of Mindoro. It is more than eighty leguas long and about two hundred in circumference. It has many settlements of the same natives, and the side lying next the provinces of Balayan and Calilaya is so near and close to the island of Luzon, that it forms a strait which contains powerful currents and races, through which the ships going to and from Manila enter and leave. The winds and currents there are very strong. It is about one-half a legua wide. In that part is the chief town of this island of Mindoro. It has a port that is called El Varadero ["the place for laying up ships"] for large vessels. There are also other anchorages and bars throughout this island for smaller vessels; and many settlements and natives on all the coasts of this island. All of the settlements abound in rice, food, and gold-placers, and all kinds of game and timber.¹²⁶

The cape of Espiritu Santo, which is sighted by ships entering the Filipinas Islands on the way from Nueva España, is in an island called Tendaya,¹²⁷ in

¹²⁶ Mindoro is at present [1890] so depopulated that the minister of the Colonies, in order to remedy this result of Spanish colonization, wishes to send there the worst desperadoes of the peninsula, to see if great criminals will make good colonists and farmers. All things considered, given the condition of those who go, it is indubitable that the race that succeeds must know how to defend itself and live, so that the island may not be depopulated again.—RIZAL.

¹²⁷ Samar. This proves contrary to the opinion of Colin, who places Tendaya in Leite.—RIZAL.

about thirteen degrees. Twenty leguas south after turning this cape of Espiritu Santo lie the island of Viri, and many others which are sighted. Through them an entrance opens to the island of Sebu by a strait called San Juanillo, which is formed by these islands. It is not very good or safe for the larger ships. But toward the north after leaving this course, one reaches the island of Capul, which forms a strait and channel of many currents and rough waves, through which the ships enter. Before reaching the strait there is a rock, or barren islet, called San Bernardino; this strait is formed by the coast of the island of Luzon and that of the island of Capul. Its channel is about one legua long and less wide.

On leaving this strait, after having entered by it, three small islets form a triangle. They are called the islands of Naranjos ["Oranges"], and are lofty and inaccessible with steep rocks. Upon them ships are wont to be driven by the powerful currents, even though they try to escape them. These are not inhabited, but the others [Capul, Viri, etc.] are large islands containing many settlements of natives and all kinds of provisions and food.

South of this district lie the islands of Biçayas, or, as they are also called, Pintados. They are many in number, thickly populated with natives. Those of most renown are Leite, Ybabao,¹²⁸ Camar [Samar], Bohol, island of Negros, Sebu, Panay, Cuyo, and the Calamianes. All the natives of these islands, both men and women, are well-featured, of a good disposition, and of better nature, and more noble in their actions than the inhabitants of the islands of Luzon and its vicinity.

¹²⁸ Southeastern part of Samar.—RIZAL.

They differ from them in their hair, which the men wear cut in a cue, like the ancient style in España. Their bodies are tattooed with many designs, but the face is not touched.¹²⁹ They wear large earrings of gold and ivory in their ears, and bracelets of the same; certain scarfs wrapped round the head, very showy, which resemble turbans, and knotted very gracefully and edged with gold. They wear also a loose collarless jacket with tight sleeves, whose skirts reach half way down the leg. These garments are fastened in front and are made of medriñaque and colored silks. They wear no shirts or drawers, but bahaques [*i.e.*, breech-clouts] of many wrappings, which cover their privy parts, when they remove their skirts and jackets. The women are good-looking and graceful. They are very neat, and walk slowly. Their hair is black, long, and drawn into a knot on the head. Their robes are wrapped about the waist and fall downward. These are made of all colors, and they wear collarless jackets of the same material. Both men and women go naked and without any coverings,¹³⁰ and barefoot, and with

¹²⁹ Colin says, however, that they did tattoo the chins and about the eyes [*barbas y cejas*]. The same author states also that the tattooing was done little by little and not all at once. "The children were not tattooed, but the women tattooed one hand and part of the other. In this island of Manila the Ilocos also tattooed themselves, although not so much as did the Visayans." The Negritos, Igorrotes, and other independent tribes of the Filipinas still tattoo themselves. The Christians have forgotten the practice. The Filipinas used only the black color, thus differing from the Japanese, who employ different colors, as red and blue, and carry the art to a rare perfection. In other islands of the Pacific, the women tattoo themselves almost as much as the men. Dr. Wilhelm Joest's *Tätowiren Narbenzeichnen und Körperbemahlen* (Berlin, 1887) treats the matter very succinctly.—RIZAL.

¹³⁰ This is a confused statement, after what just precedes it

many gold chains, earrings, and wrought bracelets.

Their weapons consist of large knives curved like cutlasses, spears, and *caraças* [*i.e.*, shields]. They employ the same kinds of boats as the inhabitants of Luzon. They have the same occupations, products, and means of gain as the inhabitants of all the other islands. These Visayans are a race less inclined to agriculture, and are skilful in navigation, and eager for war and raids for pillage and booty, which they call *mangubas*.¹³¹ This means "to go out for plunder."

Near the principal settlement of the island of Sebu, there is a fine port for all manner of vessels. It has a good entrance and furnishes shelter at all times. It has a good bottom and is an excellent anchorage. There are also other ports and bars of less importance and consideration, as in all these islands, for smaller vessels.

This island of Sebu is an island of more than one hundred leguas in circumference. It has abundance of provisions, and gold mines and placers, and is inhabited by natives.

Beyond it lie other islands, very pleasant and well populated, especially the island of Panay. Panay is a large island, more than one hundred leguas in circumference, containing many native settlements.¹³² It

and according to the evidence of Father Chirino (see VOL. XII, chapter vii). Morga must mean that they wore no cloak or covering when they went outside the house, as did the Tagáls (both men and women), who used a kind of cape.—RIZAL. [This is the sense in which Stanley understood and translated this passage.]

¹³¹ *Gûbat*, grove, field, in Tagál. *Mangubat* [so printed in the text of Rizal's edition] signifies in Tagál "to go hunting, or to the wood," or even "to fight."—RIZAL.

¹³² "At the arrival of the Spaniards at this island (Panay)"

produces considerable quantities of rice, palm-wine, and all manner of provisions. It has flourishing and wealthy settlements, on what is called the river of Panay. The chief one is Oton, which has a bar and port for galleys and ships, shipyards for building large ships, and a great amount of timber for their construction. There are many natives, who are masters of all kinds of shipbuilding. Near this island lies an islet eight leguas in circumference, which is densely populated by natives who are all carpenters. They are excellent workmen, and practice no other trade or occupation; and, without a single tree of any size on this whole islet, they practice this art with great ability. From there all the islands are furnished with workmen for carpentry. The island is called that of the Cagayanes.

After the island of Sebu follow immediately the island of Mindanao, an island of more than three hundred leguas in circumference, and Joló, which is small. Lower down is the island of Borneo, a very large island, more than five hundred leguas in circumference. All of these islands are densely populated, although that of Borneo is not subdued. Neither is that of Mindanao in entirety, but only the river of Botuan, Dapitan, and the province and coast of Caragan.

Below this island [Mindanao], before reaching that of Borneo, lie the islands of the Calamianes.

says San Agustín, "it was said to have more than 50,000 families. But they decreased greatly . . . and at present it has about 14,000 tributarios - 6,000 apportioned to the crown, and 8,000 to individual encomenderos." They had many gold-mines, and obtained gold by washing the sand in the Panay River; "but instigated by the outrages received from the *alcaldes-mayor*," says the same historian, "they have ceased to dig it, preferring to live in poverty than to endure such troubles."-RIZAL.

They are very numerous, and consist of islands of various sizes, which are densely inhabited with natives; they have some supply of provisions and engage in certain kinds of husbandry. However the most usual occupation is that of their navigations from island to island in pursuit of their trading and exchange, and their fisheries; while those who live nearest the island of Borneo are wont to go on piratical raids and pillage the natives in other islands.

The flow- and ebb-tides, and the high and low tides among these islands are so diverse in them that they have no fixed rule, either because of the powerful currents among these islands, or by some other natural secret of the flux and reflux which the moon causes. No definite knowledge has been arrived at in this regard, for although the tides are highest during the opposition of the moon, and are higher in the month of March than throughout the rest of the year, there is so great variation in the daily tides that it causes surprise. Some days there are two equal tides between day and night, while other days there is but one. At other times the flow during the day is low, and that of the night greater. They usually have no fixed hour, for it may happen to be high-tide one day at noon, while next day high-tide may be anticipated or postponed many hours. Or the tide of one day may be low, and when a smaller one is expected for next day, it may be much greater.

The language of all the Pintados and Biçayas is one and the same, by which they understand one another when talking, or when writing with the letters and characters of their own which they possess. These resemble those of the Arabs. The common manner of writing among the natives is on leaves of trees, and

on bamboo bark. Throughout the islands the bamboo is abundant; it has huge and misshapen joints, and lower part is a very thick and solid tree.¹³³

The language of Luzon and those islands in its vicinity differs widely from that of the Bicayas.¹³⁴ The language of the island of Luzon is not uniform, for the Cagayans have one language and the Ylocos another. The Zambales have their own particular language, while the Pampangos also have one different from the others. The inhabitants of the province of Manila, the Tagáls, have their own language, which is very rich and copious. By means of it one can express elegantly whatever he wishes, and in many modes and manners. It is not difficult, either to learn or to pronounce.

The natives throughout the islands can write excellently with certain characters, almost like the Greek or Arabic. These characters are fifteen in all. Three are vowels, which are used as are our five. The consonants number twelve, and each and all of them combine with certain dots or commas, and so signify whatever one wishes to write, as fluently and easily as is done with our Spanish alphabet. The method of writing was on bamboo, but is now on paper, commencing the lines at the right and running to the left, in the Arabic fashion. Almost all the

¹³³ This entire paragraph is omitted in the Rizal edition. In the original it is as follows:

La Lengua de todos, los Pintados y Bicayas, es vna mesma, por do se entienden, hablando y escriuiendo, en letras y caratores que tienen particulares, que semejan á los Arabigos, y fu comun escribir entre los naturales, es en hojas de arboles, y en cañas, sobre la corteza; que en todas las islas ay muchas, de disforme grueso los cañutos, y el pie es vn arbol muy grueso y maciço.

¹³⁴ This difference is no greater than that between the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian.—RIZAL.

natives, both men and women, write in this language. There are very few who do not write it excellently and correctly.

This language of the province of Manila [*i.e.*, the Tagál] extends throughout the province of Camarines, and other islands not contiguous to Luzon. There is but little difference in that spoken in the various districts, except that it is spoken more elegantly in some provinces than in others.¹³⁵

The edifices and houses of the natives of all these Filipinas Islands are built in a uniform manner, as are their settlements; for they always build them on the shores of the sea, between rivers and creeks. The natives generally gather in districts or settlements where they sow their rice, and possess their palm trees, nipa and banana groves, and other trees, and implements for their fishing and sailing. A small number inhabit the interior, and are called *tingui-anes*; they also seek sites on rivers and creeks, on which they settle for the same reasons.

The houses and dwellings of all these natives are universally set upon stakes and *arigues* [*i.e.*, columns] high above the ground. Their rooms are

¹³⁵ See Chirino (*Relacion de las islas Filipinas*) VOL. XII, chapters xv-xvii. His remarks, those of Morga, and those of other historians argue a considerable amount of culture among the Filipino peoples prior to the Spanish conquest. A variety of opinions have been expressed as to the direction of the writing. Chirino, San Antonio, Zúñiga, and Le Gentil, say that it was vertical, beginning at the top. Colin, Ezguerra, and Marche assert that it was vertical but in the opposite direction. Colin says that the horizontal form was adopted after the arrival of the Spaniards. Mas declares that it was horizontal and from left to right, basing his arguments upon certain documents in the Augustinian archives in Manila. The eminent Filipino scholar, Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera has treated the subject in a work entitled "*Contribucion para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos*" (Losana, 1884). See Rizal's notes on p. 291 of his edition of Morga.

small and the roofs low. They are built and tiled with wood and bamboos,¹³⁶ and covered and roofed with nipa-palm leaves. Each house is separate, and is not built adjoining another. In the lower part are enclosures made by stakes and bamboos, where their fowls and cattle are reared, and the rice pounded and cleaned. One ascends into the houses by means of ladders that can be drawn up, which are made from two bamboos. Above are their open *batalanes* [galleries] used for household duties; the parents and [grown] children live together. There is little adornment and finery in the houses, which are called *bahandin*.¹³⁷

Besides these houses, which are those of the common people and those of less importance, there are the chiefs' houses. They are built upon trees and thick arigues, with many rooms and comforts. They are well constructed of timber and planks, and are strong and large. They are furnished and supplied with all that is necessary, and are much finer and more substantial than the others. They are roofed, however, as are the others, with the palm-leaves called nipa. These keep out the water and the sun more than do shingles or tiles, although the danger from fires is greater.

The natives do not inhabit the lower part of their houses, because they raise their fowls and cattle there, and because of the damp and heat of the earth, and the many rats, which are enormous and destructive both in the houses and sowed fields; and because,

¹³⁶ This portion of this sentence is omitted in Stanley.

¹³⁷ *Báhay* is "house" in Tagál; *pamamáhay* is that which is in the interior and the house. *Bahandin* may be a misprint for *bahayín*, an obsolete derivative.—RIZAL.

as their houses are generally built on the sea shore, or on the banks of rivers and creeks, the waters bathe the lower parts, and the latter are consequently left open.

There were no kings or lords throughout these islands who ruled over them as in the manner of our kingdoms and provinces; but in every island, and in each province of it, many chiefs were recognized by the natives themselves. Some were more powerful than others, and each one had his followers and subjects, by districts and families; and these obeyed and respected the chief. Some chiefs had friendship and communication with others, and at times wars and quarrels.¹⁸⁸

These principalities and lordships were inherited in the male line and by succession of father and son and their descendants. If these were lacking, then their brothers and collateral relatives succeeded. Their duty was to rule and govern their subjects and followers, and to assist them in their interests and necessities. What the chiefs received from their followers was to be held by them in great veneration and respect; and they were served in their wars and voyages, and in their tilling, sowing, fishing, and the building of their houses. To these duties the natives attended very promptly, whenever summoned by their chief. They also paid the chiefs tribute (which they called *buiz*), in varying quantities, in the crops that they gathered. The descendants of such chiefs, and their relatives, even though they did not inherit the lordship, were held in the same respect and consideration. Such were all regarded as nobles,

¹⁸⁸ Cf. this and following sections with Loarca's relation, VOL. v, of this series; and with Plasencia's account, VOL. VII, pp. 173-196.

and as persons exempt from the services rendered by the others, or the plebeians, who were called *timaguas*.¹³⁹ The same right of nobility and chieftainship was preserved for the women, just as for the men. When any of these chiefs was more courageous than others in war and upon other occasions, such a one enjoyed more followers and men; and the others were under his leadership, even if they were chiefs. These latter retained to themselves the lordship and particular government of their own following, which is called *barangai* among them. They had *datos* and other special leaders [*mandadores*] who attended to the interests of the barangay.

The superiority of these chiefs over those of their *barangai* was so great that they held the latter as subjects; they treated these well or ill, and disposed of their persons, their children, and their possessions, at will, without any resistance, or rendering account to anyone. For very slight annoyances and for slight occasions, they were wont to kill and wound them, and to enslave them. It has happened that the chiefs have made perpetual slaves of persons who have gone by them, while bathing in the river, or who have raised their eyes to look at them less respectfully and for other similar causes.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Timawá.—RIZAL.

¹⁴⁰ The condition of these slaves was not always a melancholy one. Argensola says that they ate at the same table with their masters, and married into their families. The histories fail to record the assassination for motives of vengeance of any master or chief by the natives, as they do of encomenderos. After the conquest the evil deepened. The Spaniards made slaves without these pretexts, and without those enslaved being Indians of their jurisdiction—going moreover, to take them away from their own villages and islands. Fernando de los Rios Coronel, in his memorial to the king (Madrid, 1621) pp. 24-25, speaks in scathing terms of the cruelties inflicted on the natives in the construction of ships during

When some natives had suits or disputes with others over matters of property and interest, or over personal injuries and wrongs received, they appointed old men of the same district, to try them, the parties being present. If they had to present proofs, they brought their witnesses there, and the case was immediately judged according to what was found, according to the usages of their ancestors on like occasions; and that sentence was observed and executed without any further objection or delay.¹⁴¹

The natives' laws throughout the islands were made in the same manner, and they followed the traditions and customs of their ancestors, without anything being written. Some provinces had different customs than others in some respects. However, they agreed in most, and in all the islands generally the same usages were followed.¹⁴²

There are three conditions of persons among the natives of these islands, and into which their government is divided: the chiefs, of whom we have already treated; the timaguas, who are equivalent to plebeians; and slaves, those of both chiefs and timaguas.

The slaves were of several classes. Some were the governorship of Juan de Silva. A letter from Felipe II to Bishop Domingo de Salazar shows the awful tyranny exercised by the encomenderos upon the natives, whose condition was worse than that of slaves.—RIZAL.

¹⁴¹ For remarks on the customs formerly observed by the natives of Pampanga in their suits, see appendix to this volume.

¹⁴² This fundamental agreement of laws, and this general uniformity, prove that the mutual relations of the islands were widespread, and the bonds of friendship more frequent than were wars and quarrels. There may have existed a confederation, since we know from the first Spaniards that the chief of Manila was commander-in-chief of the sultan of Borneo. In addition, documents of the twelfth century that exist testify the same thing.—RIZAL.

for all kinds of work and slavery, like those which we ourselves hold. Such are called *saguiguilires*;¹⁴³ they served inside the house, as did likewise the children born of them. There are others who live in their own houses with their families, outside the house of their lord; and come, at the season, to aid him in his sowings and harvests, among his rowers when he embarks, in the construction of his house when it is being built, and to serve in his house when there are guests of distinction. These are bound to come to their lord's house whenever he summons them, and to serve in these offices without any pay or stipend. These slaves are called *namamahays*,¹⁴⁴ and their children and descendants are slaves of the same class. From these slaves – *saguiguilirs* and *namamahays* – are issue, some of whom are whole slaves, some of whom are half slaves, and still others one-fourth slaves. It happens thus: if either the

¹⁴³ This word must be *sagilid* in its Tagál form. The root *gilid* signifies in Tagál, "margin," "strand," or "shore." The reduplication of the first syllable, if tonic, signifies active future action. If not tonic and the suffix *an* be added, it denotes the place where the action of the verb is frequently executed. The preposition *sa* indicates place, time, reference. The atonic reduplication may also signify plurality, in which case the singular noun would be *sagilid*, i.e., "at the margin," or "the last" – that is, the slave. *Timawā* signifies now in Tagál, "in peace, in quietness, tranquil, free," etc. *Maginoo*, from the root *ginoo*, "dignity," is now the title of the chiefs; and the chiefs' reunion is styled *kaginoóhan*. Colin says, nevertheless, that the chiefs used the title *gat* or *lakan*, and the women *dayang*. The title of *mama* applied now to men, corresponds to "uncle," "Señor," "Monsieur," "Mr.," etc.; and the title *al* of women to the feminine titles corresponding to these. — RIZAL.

¹⁴⁴ *Namamahay* (from *bahay*, "house"), "he who lives in his own house." This class of slaves, if they may be so called, exists even yet. They are called *kasamá* (because of being now the laborers of a capitalist or farmer), *bataan* ("servant," or "domestic"), *kampon*, *tao*, etc.

father or the mother was free, and they had an only child, he was half free and half slave. If they had more than one child, they were divided as follows: the first follows the condition of the father, free or slave; the second that of the mother. If there were an odd number of children, the last was half free and half slave. Those who descended from these, if children of a free mother or father, were only one-fourth slaves, because of being children of a free father or mother and of a half-slave. These half slaves or one-fourth slaves, whether *saguiguilirs* or *namamahays*, served their masters during every other moon; and in this respect so is such condition slavery.

In the same way, it may happen in divisions between heirs that a slave will fall to several, and serves each one for the time that is due him. When the slave is not wholly slave, but half or fourth, he has the right, because of that part that is free, to compel his master to emancipate him for a just price. This price is appraised and regulated for persons according to the quality of their slavery, whether it be *saguiguilir* or *namamahay*, half slave or quarter slave. But, if he is wholly slave, the master cannot be compelled to ransom or emancipate him for any price.

The usual price of a *sanguiguilir* slave among the natives is, at most, generally ten taes of good gold, or eighty pesos; if he is *namamahay*, half of that sum. The others are in the same proportion, taking into consideration the person and his age.

No fixed beginning can be assigned as the origin of these kinds of slavery among these natives, because all the slaves are natives of the islands, and not strangers. It is thought that they were made in their wars and quarrels. The most certain knowledge is

that the most powerful made the others slaves, and seized them for slight cause or occasion, and many times for loans and usurious contracts which were current among them. The interest, capital, and debt, increased so much with delay that the borrowers became slaves. Consequently all these slaveries have violent and unjust beginnings; and most of the suits among the natives are over these, and they occupy the judges in the exterior court with them, and their confessors in that of conscience.¹⁴⁵

These slaves comprise the greatest wealth and capital of the natives of these islands, for they are very useful to them and necessary for the cultivation of their property. They are sold, traded, and exchanged among them, just as any other mercantile article, from one village to another, from one province to another, and likewise from one island to another. Therefore, and to avoid so many suits as would occur if these slaveries were examined, and their origin and source ascertained, they are preserved and held as they were formerly.

The marriages of these natives, commonly and generally were, and are: Chiefs with women chiefs; timaguas with those of that rank; and slaves with

¹⁴⁵ This class of slavery still exists [1890] in many districts, especially in the province of Batangas; but it must be admitted that their condition is quite different from that of the slave in Greece or Rome, or that of the negro, and even of those made slaves formerly by the Spaniards. Thanks to their social condition and to their number in that time, the Spanish domination met very little resistance, while the Filipino chiefs easily lost their independence and liberty. The people, accustomed to the yoke, did not defend the chiefs from the invader, nor attempt to struggle for liberties that they never enjoyed. For the people, it was only a change of masters. The nobles, accustomed to tyrannize by force, had to accept the foreign tyranny, when it showed itself stronger than their own. Not encountering love or elevated feelings in the enslaved mass, they found themselves without force or power.—RIZAL.

those of their own class. But sometimes these classes intermarry with one another. They considered one woman, whom they married, as the legitimate wife ✓ and the mistress of the house; and she was styled *ynasaba*.¹⁴⁶ Those whom they kept besides her they considered as friends. The children of the first were regarded as legitimate and whole heirs of their parents; the children of the others were not so regarded, and were left something by assignment, but they did not inherit.

The dowry was furnished by the man, being given by his parents. The wife furnished nothing for the marriage, until she had inherited it from her parents. The solemnity of the marriage consisted in nothing more than the agreement between the parents and relatives of the contracting parties, the payment of the dowry agreed upon to the father of the bride,¹⁴⁷ and the assembling at the wife's parents' house of all the relatives to eat and drink until they would fall down. At night the man took the woman to his house and into his power, and there she remained. These marriages were annulled and dissolved for slight cause, with the examination and judgment of the relatives of both parties, and of the old men, who acted as mediators in the affairs. At such a time the man took the dowry

¹⁴⁶ *Inasawa*, or more correctly *asawa* (consort).—RIZAL.

¹⁴⁷ This dowry, if one may call it so, represented to the parents an indemnity for the care and vigilance that they had exercised in their daughter's education. The Filipina woman, never being a burden to any one (either to her parents or to her husband), but quite the contrary, represents a value, whose loss to the possessor must be substituted. . . . The Tagál wife is free, and treated with consideration; she trades and contracts, almost always with the approbation of her husband, who consults her in all his acts. She takes care of the money, and educates the children, half of whom belong to her . . . —RIZAL.



(which they call *vigadicaya*),¹⁴⁸ unless it happened that they separated through the husband's fault; for then it was not returned to him, and the wife's parents kept it. The property that they had acquired together was divided into halves, and each one disposed of his own. If one made any profits in which the other did not have a share or participate, he acquired it for himself alone.

The Indians were adopted one by another, in presence of the relatives. The adopted person gave and delivered all his actual possessions to the one who adopted him. Thereupon he remained in his house and care, and had a right to inherit with the other children.¹⁴⁹

Adulteries were not punishable corporally. If the adulterer paid the aggrieved party the amount adjudged by the old men and agreed upon by them, then the injury was pardoned, and the husband was appeased and retained his honor. He would still live with his wife and there would be no further talk about the matter.

In inheritances all the legitimate children inherited equally from their parents whatever property they had acquired. If there were any movable or landed property which they had received from their parents, such went to the nearest relatives and

¹⁴⁸ *Bigay-káya*, "to give what one can," "a voluntary offering, a present of good will" . . . This *bigay-káya* devolved entire to the married couple, according to Colin, if the son-in-law was obedient to his parents-in-law; if not, it was divided among all the heirs. "Besides the dowry, the chiefs used to give certain gifts to the parents and relatives, and even to the slaves, which were great or less according to the rank of the one married" (Colin).—RIZAL.

¹⁴⁹ This good custom still exists, . . . although it is gradually passing away.—RIZAL.



the collateral side of that stock, if there were no legitimate children by an ynasaba. This was the case either with or without a will. In the act of drawing a will, there was no further ceremony than to have written it or to have stated it orally before acquaintances.

If any chief was lord of a barangai, then in that case, the eldest son of an ynasaba succeeded him. If he died, the second son succeeded. If there were no sons, then the daughters succeeded in the same order. If there were no legitimate successors, the succession went to the nearest relative belonging to the lineage and relationship of the chief who had been the last possessor of it.

If any native who had slave women made concubines of any of them, and such slave woman had children, those children were free, as was the slave. But if she had no children, she remained a slave.¹⁵⁰

These children by a slave woman, and those borne by a married woman, were regarded as illegitimate, and did not succeed to the inheritance with the other children, neither were the parents obliged to leave them anything. Even if they were the sons of chiefs, they did not succeed to the nobility or chieftainship of the parents, nor to their privileges, but they remained and were reckoned as plebeians and in the number and rank of the other timaguas. ✓

The contracts and negotiations of these natives were generally illegal, each one paying attention to how he might better his own business and interest.

Loans with interest were very common and much

¹⁵⁰ Such is the law throughout most parts of Asia; in Siam the woman becomes free without having children. It is only in America that fathers could and did sell their own children into slavery.—STANLEY.

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practiced, and the interest incurred was excessive. The debt doubled and increased all the time while payment was delayed, until it stripped the debtor of all his possessions, and he and his children, when all their property was gone, became slaves.¹⁵¹

Their customary method of trading was by bartering one thing for another, such as food, cloth, cattle, fowls, lands, houses, fields, slaves, fishing-grounds, and palm-trees (both nipa and wild). Sometimes a price intervened, which was paid in gold, as agreed upon, or in metal bells brought from China. These bells they regard as precious jewels; they resemble large pans and are very sonorous.¹⁵² They play upon these at their feasts, and carry them to the war in their boats instead of drums and other instruments. There are often delays and terms for certain payments, and bondsmen who intervene and bind themselves, but always with very usurious and excessive profits and interests.

Crimes were punished by request of the aggrieved parties. Especially were thefts punished with greater severity, the robbers being enslaved or sometimes put to death.¹⁵³ The same was true of insult-

¹⁵¹ This condition of affairs and the collection of usury is true still [1890]. Morga's words prove true not only of the Indian, but also of the mestizos, the Spaniards, and even of various religious. So far has it gone that the government itself not only permits it, but also exacts the capital and even the person to pay the debts of others, as happens with the *cabeza de barangay* [head of a barangay].—RIZAL.

¹⁵² The *tam-tam* and the *pum-piang* are still used.—RIZAL.

¹⁵³ The early Filipinos had a great horror of theft, and even the most anti-Filipino historian could not accuse them of being a thievish race. Today, however, they have lost their horror of that crime. One of the old Filipino methods of investigating theft was as follows: "If the crime was proved, but not the criminal, if more than one was suspected . . . each suspect was first

1890

ing words, especially when spoken to chiefs. They had among themselves many expressions and words which they regarded as the highest insult, when said to men and women. These were pardoned less willingly and with greater difficulty than was personal violence, such as wounding and assaulting.¹⁵⁴

Concubinage, rape, and incest, were not regarded at all, unless committed by a timagua on the person of a woman chief. It was a quite ordinary practice for a married man to have lived a long time in concubinage with the sister of his wife. Even before having communication with his wife he could have had access for a long time to his mother-in-law, especially if the bride were very young, and until she were of sufficient age. This was done in sight of all the relatives.

Single men are called *bagontaos*,¹⁵⁵ and girls of marriageable age, *dalagas*. Both classes are people of little restraint, and from early childhood they have communication with one another, and mingle with facility and little secrecy, and without this being regarded among the natives as a cause for anger. Neither do the parents, brothers, or relatives, show any anger, especially if there is any material interest in it, and but little is sufficient with each and all.

obliged to place a bundle of cloth, leaves, or whatever he wished on a pile, in which the thing stolen might be hidden. Upon the completion of this investigation if the stolen property was found in the pile, the suit ceased." The Filipinos also practiced customs very similar to the "judgments of God" of the middle ages, such as putting suspected persons, by pairs, under the water and adjudging guilty him who first emerged.—RIZAL.

¹⁵⁴ The Filipino today prefers a beating to scoldings or insults.—RIZAL.

¹⁵⁵ From *bago*, new, and *tao*, man: he who has become a man.—RIZAL.

As long as these natives lived in their paganism, it was not known that they had fallen into the abominable sin against nature. But after the Spaniards had entered their country, through communication with them – and still more, through that with the Sangleys, who have come from China, and are much given to that vice – it has been communicated to them somewhat, both to men and to women. In this matter it has been necessary to take action.

The natives of the islands of Pintados, especially the women, are very vicious and sensual. Their perverseness has discovered lascivious methods of communication between men and women; and there is one to which they are accustomed from their youth. The men skilfully make a hole in their virile member near its head, and insert therein a serpent's head, either of metal or ivory, and fasten it with a peg of the same material passed through the hole, so that it cannot become unfastened. With this device, they have communication with their wives, and are unable to withdraw until a long time after copulation. They are very fond of this and receive much pleasure from it, so that, although they shed a quantity of blood, and receive other harm, it is current among them. These devices are called *sagras*, and there are very few of them, because since they have become Christians, strenuous efforts are being made to do away with these, and not consent to their use; and consequently the practice has been checked in great part.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ In speaking of a similar custom in Australia, Eyre (*Central Australia*, i, p. 213), says: "This extraordinary and inexplicable custom must have a great tendency to prevent the rapid increase of the population.—STANLEY. [Stanley does not translate this paragraph of the text.]

Herbalists and witches are common among these natives, but are not punished or prohibited among them, so long as they do not cause any special harm. But seldom could that be ascertained or known.

There were also men whose business was to ravish and take away virginity from young girls. These girls were taken to such men, and the latter were paid for ravishing them, for the natives considered it a hindrance and impediment if the girls were virgins when they married.

In matters of religion, the natives proceeded more barbarously and with greater blindness than in all the rest. For besides being pagans, without any knowledge of the true God, they neither strove to discover Him by way of reason, nor had any fixed belief. The devil usually deceived them with a thousand errors and blindnesses. He appeared to them in various horrible and frightful forms, and as fierce animals, so that they feared him and trembled before him. They generally worshiped him, and made images of him in the said forms. These they kept in caves and private houses, where they offered them perfumes and odors, and food and fruit, calling them *anitos*.¹⁵⁷

Others worshiped the sun and the moon, and made feasts and drunken revels at the conjunction of those bodies. Some worshiped a yellow-colored bird that dwells in their woods, called *batala*. They generally worship and adore the crocodiles when they see them, by kneeling down and clasping their hands, because of the harm that they receive from those

¹⁵⁷ It appears that the natives called *anito* a tutelary genius, either of the family, or extraneous to it. Now, with their new religious ideas, the Tagáls apply the term *anito* to any superstition, false worship, idol, etc.—RIZAL.

reptiles; they believe that by so doing the crocodiles will become appeased and leave them. Their oaths, execrations, and promises are all as above mentioned, namely, "May *buhayan* eat thee, if thou dost not speak truth, or fulfil what thou hast promised," and similar things.

There were no temples throughout those islands, nor houses generally used for the worship of idols; but each person possessed and made in his house his own anitos,¹⁵⁸ without any fixed rite or ceremony. They had no priests or religious to attend to religious affairs, except certain old men and women called *catalonas*. These were experienced witches and sorcerers, who kept the other people deceived. The latter communicated to these sorcerers their desires and needs, and the *catalonas* told them innumerable extravagancies and lies. The *catalonas* uttered prayers and performed other ceremonies to the idols for the sick; and they believed in omens and superstitions, with which the devil inspired them, whereby they declared whether the patient would recover or die. Such were their cures and methods, and they used various kinds of divinations for all things. All this was with so little aid, apparatus, or foundation – which God permitted, so that the preaching of the holy gospel should find those of that region better prepared for it, and so that those natives would confess the truth more easily, and it would be less difficult to withdraw them from their darkness, and

¹⁵⁸ Others besides Morga mention oratories in caves, where the idols were kept, and where aromatics were burned in small brasiers. Chirino found small temples in Taitay adjoining the principal houses. [See VOL. XII, of this series, chapter xxi.] It appears that temples were never dedicated to *bathala maykapal*, nor was sacrifice ever offered him. The temples dedicated to the *anito* were called *ulañgo*.—RIZAL.

the errors in which the devil kept them for so many years. They never sacrificed human beings as is done in other kingdoms. They believed that there was a future life where those who had been brave and performed valiant feats would be rewarded; while those who had done evil would be punished. But they did not know how or where this would be.¹⁵⁹

They buried their dead in their own houses, and kept their bodies and bones for a long time in chests. They venerated the skulls of the dead as if they were living and present. Their funeral rites did not consist of pomp or assemblages, beyond those of their own house — where, after bewailing the dead, all was changed into feasting and drunken revelry among all the relatives and friends.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ San Agustín says that hell was called *solad*, and paradise, *kalualhatian* (a name still in existence), and in poetical language, *ulugan*. The blest abodes of the inhabitants of Panay were in the mountain of Madias.—RIZAL.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. the "wake" of the Celtic and Gaelic peasants. Cf. also the North-American Indian burial ceremonies, and reverence paid to the dead, in *Jesuit Relations*, i, p. 215; ii, pp. 21, 149; viii, p. 21; x, pp. 169, 247, 283-285, 293; xiii, 259; xxi, 199; xxiii, 31; lxv, 141; etc.

In the Filipino burials, there were mourners who composed panegyrics in honor of the dead, like those made today. "To the sound of this sad music the corpse was washed, and perfumed with storax, gum-resin, or other perfumes made from tree gums, which are found in all these woods. Then the corpse was shrouded, being wrapped in more or less cloth according to the rank of the deceased. The bodies of the more wealthy were anointed and embalmed in the manner of the Hebrews, with aromatic liquors, which preserved them from decay. . . . The burial-place of the poor was in pits dug in the ground under their own houses. After the bodies of the rich and powerful were kept and bewailed for three days, they were placed in a chest or coffin of incorruptible wood, adorned with rich jewels, and with small sheets of gold in the mouth and over the eyes. The coffin was all in one piece, and the lid was so adjusted that no air could enter. Because of these precautions the bodies have been found after many years, still uncorrupted. These coffins were deposited in one of three

A few years before the Spaniards subdued the island of Luzon, certain natives of the island of Borneo began to go thither to trade, especially to the settlement of Manila and Tondo; and the inhabitants of the one island intermarried with those of the other. These Borneans are Mahometans, and were already introducing their religion among the natives of Luzon, and were giving them instructions, ceremonies, and the form of observing their religion, by means of certain *gazizes*¹⁶¹ whom they brought with them. Already a considerable number, and those the chiefest men, were commencing, although by piecemeal, to become Moros, and were being circumcised¹⁶² and taking the names of Moros. Had

places, according to the inclination and arrangement of the deceased, either on top of the house among the treasures . . . or underneath it, but raised from the ground; or in the ground itself, in an open hole surrounded with a small railing . . . nearby they were wont to place another box filled with the best clothes of the deceased; and at meal-time they set various articles of food there in dishes. Beside the men were laid their weapons, and beside the women their looms or other implements of work" (Colin).
— RIZAL.

¹⁶¹ *Kasis*. This is another instance of the misapplication of this Arabic term, which means exclusively a Christian priest.— STANLEY.

¹⁶² This custom has not fallen into disuse among the Filipinos, even among the Catholics.— RIZAL.

Lieutenant Charles Norton Barney, of the medical department of the U. S. Army, has an article in *Journal* of the Association of Military Surgeons for September, 1903, on "Circumcision and Flagellation among the Filipinos." In regard to circumcision he states that it "is a very ancient custom among the Philippine *indios*, and so generalized that at least seventy or eighty per cent of males in the Tagal country have undergone the operation." Those uncircumcised at the age of puberty are taunted by their fellows, and such are called "*suput*," a word formerly meaning "constricted" or "tight," but now being extended to mean "one who cannot easily gain entrance in sexual intercourse." The "operation has no religious significance," nor is it done for cleanliness, "but from custom and disinclination to be ridiculed," probably [as

the Spaniards' coming been delayed longer, that religion would have spread throughout the island, and even through the others, and it would have been difficult to extirpate it. The mercy of God checked it in time; for, because of being in so early stages, it was uprooted from the islands, and they were freed from it, that is, in all that the Spaniards have pacified, and that are under the government of the Filipinas. That religion has spread and extended very widely in the other islands outside of this government, so that now almost all of their natives are Mahometan Moros, and are ruled and instructed by their *gaçizes* and other *morabitos*;¹⁶³ these often come to preach to and teach them by way of the strait of Ma[la]ca and the Red Sea, through which they navigate to reach these islands.

The arrival of the Spaniards in these Filipinas Islands, since the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-four, the pacification and conversion that has been made therein, their mode of governing, and the provisions of his Majesty during these years for their welfare, have caused innovations in many things, such as are usual to kingdoms and provinces that change their religion and sovereign. The foremost has been that, besides the name of Filipinas which all the islands took and received from the beginning of their conquest, they belong to a new kingdom and seigniory to which his Majesty, Filipo

Morga proves] having been learned from the Moros. The friars were unable to check the custom. Among the Tagáls the operation is called "*tuli*," and the method of circumcising is described at length. The author derives his information from a mestizo and a full-blooded native. The custom is mentioned by Foreman.

¹⁶³ Appellation given to their ecclesiastical sages by Mahometans.

Second, our sovereign, gave the name of Nuevo Reyno de Castilla ["New Kingdom of Castilla"]. By his royal concession, he made the city of Manila capital of it, and gave to it as a special favor, among other things, a crowned coat-of-arms which was chosen and assigned by his royal person. This is an escutcheon divided across. In the upper part is a castle on a red field, and in the lower a lion of gold, crowned and rampant, holding a naked sword in its right paw. One-half of the body is in the form of a dolphin upon the waters of the sea, to signify that the Spaniards crossed the sea with their arms to conquer this kingdom for the crown of Castilla.¹⁶⁴

The city of Manila was founded by the adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, first governor of the Filipinas, in the island of Luzon. It occupies the same site where Rajamora had his settlement and fort – as has been related more at length – at the mouth of the river which empties into the bay, on a point between the river and the sea. The whole site was occupied by this new settlement, and Legazpi apportioned it to the Spaniards in equal building-lots. It was laid out with well-arranged streets and squares, straight and level. A sufficiently large main square [*Plaza mayor*] was left, fronting which were erected the cathedral church and municipal buildings. He left another square, that of arms [*Plaza de armas*], fronting which was built the fort, as well as the royal buildings. He gave sites for the monasteries,¹⁶⁵ hospital, and chapels which were to be built, as being a city which was to grow and increase continually –

¹⁶⁴ See the king's decree granting this coat-of-arms, in VOL. IX, pp. 211-215, with two representations of the coat-of-arms.

¹⁶⁵ Convents occupy almost one-third part of the walled city. – RIZAL.

as already it has done; for, in the course of the time that has passed, that city has flourished as much as the best of all the cities in those regions.

The city is completely surrounded with a stone wall, which is more than two and one-half varas wide, and in places more than three. It has small towers and traverses at intervals.¹⁶⁶ It has a fortress of hewn stone at the point that guards the bar and the river, with a ravelin close to the water, upon which are mounted some large pieces of artillery. This artillery commands the sea and river, while other pieces are mounted farther up to defend the bar, besides some other moderate-sized field-pieces and swivel-guns. These fortifications have their vaults for storing supplies and munitions, and a magazine for the powder, which is well guarded and situated in the inner part; and a copious well of fresh water. There are also quarters for the soldiers and artillerymen, and the house of the commandant [alcayde]. The city has been lately fortified on the land side at the Plaza de armas, where it is entered by a strong wall and two salient towers, defended with artillery, which command the wall and gate. This fortress is called Santiago, and has a company of thirty soldiers with their officers, and eight artillerymen who guard the gate and entrance by watches – all in charge of a commandant who lives inside, and has the guard and custody of the fort.

There is another fortress, also of stone, in the same wall, within culverin range, located at the end¹⁶⁷ of

¹⁶⁶ The walls did not even have any moats then; these were dug after the English invasion of 1762. The walls were also rearranged at that time, and perfected with the lapse of time and the needs that arose in the city.—RIZAL.

¹⁶⁷ Rizal misprints *al cabo del lienço* as *al campo del lienzo*.

the curtain, which extends along the shore of the bay. It is called Nuestra Señora de Guia, and is a very large round tower. It has its own court, well, and quarters inside, as well as the magazine, and other rooms for work. It has a traverse extending to the beach, on which are mounted a dozen large and moderate-sized pieces, which command the bay and sweep the wall, which extends along the shore to the gate and to the fort of Santiago. On the other side the fortress has a large salient tower, mounted with four large pieces, which command the shore ahead in the direction of the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Guia. The gate and entrance is within the city and is guarded by a company of twenty soldiers and their officers, six artillerymen, and one commandant and his lieutenant, who live inside.

On the land side, where the wall extends, there is a rampart called Sant Andres, which mounts six pieces of artillery that command in all directions, and some swivel-guns. Farther on is another traverse called San Gabriel, opposite the *parián* of the *Sangleys*, with a like amount of artillery. Both have some soldiers and an ordinary guard.

The wall has a sufficient height, and is furnished with battlements and turrets, built in the modern style, for its defense. It has a circuit of about one *legua*, which can be made entirely on top. It has many broad steps of the same hewn stone, at intervals inside. There are three principal city gates on the land side, and many other posterns opening at convenient places on the river and beach, for the service of the city. Each and all of them are locked before nightfall by the ordinary patrols. These carry the keys to the guard-room of the royal build-

ings. In the morning when day comes, the patrols return with the keys and open the city.¹⁶⁸

The royal arsenals front on the Plaza de armas. In them are kept and guarded all the supplies of ammunition, food, rigging, iron, copper, lead, artillery, arquebuses, and other things belonging to the royal estate. They have their own officers and workmen, and are placed in charge of the royal officials.

Near these arsenals is located the powder-house, with its master, workmen, and convicts, where powder is generally ground in thirty mortars, and that which is spoiled is refined.¹⁶⁹

The building for the founding of artillery is located on a suitable site in another part of the city. It has its molds, ovens, and tools, founders, and workmen who work it.¹⁷⁰

The royal buildings are very beautiful and slightly, and contain many rooms. They have many windows opening toward the sea and the Plaza de armas. They are all built of stone and have two courts, with upper and lower galleries raised on stout pillars. The governor and president lives inside with his family. There is a hall for the royal Audiencia, which is very large and stately; also a

¹⁶⁸ Now [1890] the gates of the city are open all night, and in certain periods, passage along the streets and through the walls is allowed at all hours.—RIZAL.

¹⁶⁹ This powder-mill has several times changed its site. It was afterward near Maalat on the seashore, and then was moved to Nagtahá, on the bank of the Pasig.—RIZAL.

¹⁷⁰ Probably on the same site where the great Tagál cannon-foundry had formerly stood, which was burned and destroyed by the Spaniards at their first arrival in Manila. San Agustin declares the Tagál foundry to have been as large as that at Málaga.—RIZAL.

separate chapel, a room for the royal seal,¹⁷¹ and offices for the scriveners of the Audiencia, and the government. There are also other apartments for the royal treasury and the administration of the royal officials, while a large porch opens on the street with two principal doors, where the guardroom is located. There is one company of regular arquebusiers, who come in daily with their banners to stand guard. Opposite, on the other side of the street, is another edifice for the royal treasury and those in charge of it.¹⁷²

The houses of the cabildo, located on the square, are built of stone. They are very sightly and have handsome halls. On the ground floor is the prison, and the court of the *alcaldes-in-ordinary*.¹⁷³

On the same square is situated the cathedral church. It is built of hewn stone, and has three naves, and its main chapel, and choir, with high and low seats. The choir is shut in by railings, and has its organ, missal-stands, and other necessary things. The cathedral has also its sacristan¹⁷⁴ and his apartments and offices.

Within the city is the monastery of St. Augustine. It is very large and has many dormitories, a refectory and kitchens. They are now completing a church, which is one of the most sumptuous in those districts. This convent has generally fifty religious.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ The Rizal edition omits the words, *muy grande y autorizada, capilla aparte, camara del fello real*.

¹⁷² The treasury building. The governor's palace was destroyed in 1863.—RIZAL.

¹⁷³ The Audiencia and cabildo buildings were also destroyed, but the latter has been rebuilt.—RIZAL.

¹⁷⁴ The Rizal edition misprints *sacristan* as *sacristías*.

¹⁷⁵ This is the largest convent in Manila.—RIZAL.

The monastery of St. Dominic is inside the walls. It contains about forty religious. It was built of stone, and was very well constructed. It has a church, house, and all offices. It has lately been rebuilt, and much better; for it was completely destroyed in the burning of the city in the year six hundred and three.

The monastery of St. Francis is farther on. It is well constructed of stone, and its church is being rebuilt. It contains about forty discalced religious.

The residence [*colegio*] of the Society of Jesus is established near the fortress of Nuestra Señora de Guia. It contains twenty religious of their order, and is an excellent stone house and church. There they study Latin, the arts, and cases of conscience. Connected with them is a seminary and convictorio¹⁷⁶ for Spanish scholars, with their rector. These students wear gowns of tawny-colored frieze with red facings.¹⁷⁷

In another part of the city stands a handsome house, walled in, with its stone church, called San Andres and Santa Potenciana. It is a royal foundation, and a rectoress lives there. It has a revolving entrance and a parlor, and the rectoress has other

¹⁷⁶ Among the Jesuits, that part of a college where the pensioners or boarders live and receive their instruction.

¹⁷⁷ This college of San José was founded in 1601, although the royal decree for it had been conceded in 1585. The number of collegiates to enter was thirteen, among whom was a nephew of Francisco Tello and a son of Dr. Morga. From its inception Latin was taught there. In a suit with the College of Santo Tomás, the Jesuits obtained a favorable decision; and it was recognized as the older institution, and given the preference in public acts. The historians say that at its inauguration the students wore bonnets covered with diamonds and pearls. At present [1890] this college, after having moved from house to house, has become a school of pharmacy attached to Santo Tomás, and directed by the Dominican rector.—RIZAL.

confidential assistants; and there shelter is given to needy women and girls of the city, in the form of religious retirement. Some of the girls leave the house to be married, while others remain there permanently. It has its own house for work, and its choir. His Majesty assists them with a portion of their maintenance; the rest is provided by their own industry and property. They have their own steward and their priest, who administers the sacraments to them.¹⁷⁸

In another part is the royal hospital for Spaniards, with its physician, apothecary, surgeons, managers, and servants. It and its church are built of stone; and it has its sick rooms and the bed service. In it all the Spaniards are treated. It is usually quite full; it is under the royal patronage. His Majesty provides the most necessary things for it. Three discalced religious of St. Francis act there as superintendents, and they prove very advantageous for the corporal and spiritual relief of the sick. It was burned in the conflagration of the former year six hundred and three, and is now being rebuilt.

There is another charitable hospital in charge of the Confraternity of that name. It was founded in the city of Manila by the Confraternity of La Misericordia of Lisboa, and by the other confraternities of India.¹⁷⁹ It has apostolic bulls for works of charity, such as burying the dead, supporting the modest poor, marrying orphans, and relieving many necessities. There the slaves of the city are treated, and

¹⁷⁸ After many varying fortunes, this institution has wholly disappeared.—RIZAL.

¹⁷⁹ The Confraternity of Mercy [*Hermandad de la Misericordia*] was founded in 1594, by an ecclesiastic named Juan Fernández de León.—RIZAL.

lodgings are likewise provided for poor women.

Next to the monastery of St. Francis is located the hospital for natives,¹⁸⁰ which is under royal patronage. It was founded with alms, by a holy lay-brother of St. Francis, one Fray Joan Clemente. A great many natives, suffering from all diseases, are treated there with great care and attention. It has a good edifice and workrooms built of stone. The discalced religious of St. Francis manage it; and three priests and four lay-brothers, of exemplary life, live there. These are the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries of the hospital, and are so skilful and useful, that they cause many marvelous cures, both in medicine and in surgery.

The streets of the city are compactly built up with houses, mostly of stone, although some are of wood. Many are roofed with clay tiling, and others with nipa. They are excellent edifices, lofty and spacious, and have large rooms and many windows, and balconies, with iron gratings, that embellish them. More are daily being built and finished. There are about six hundred houses within the walls, and a greater number, built of wood, in the suburbs; and all are the habitations and homes of Spaniards.

The streets, squares, and churches are generally filled with people of all classes, especially Spaniards – all, both men and women, clad and gorgeously adorned in silks. They wear many ornaments and all kinds of fine clothes, because of the ease with which these are obtained. Consequently this is one of the settlements most highly praised, by the foreigners who resort to it, of all in the world, both for the above reason, and for the great provision and

¹⁸⁰ San Juan de Dios [St. John of God].—RIZAL.

abundance of food and other necessities for human life found there, and sold at moderate prices.

Manila has two drives for recreation. One is by land, along the point called Nuestra Señora de Guia. It extends for about a legua along the shore, and is very clean and level. Thence it passes through a native street and settlement, called Bagunbayan, to a chapel, much frequented by the devout, called Nuestra Señora de Guia, and continues for a goodly distance further to a monastery and mission-house of the Augustinians, called Mahalat.¹⁸¹

The other drive extends through one of the city gates to a native settlement, called Laguio, by which one may go to a chapel of San Anton, and to a monastery and mission-house of discalced Franciscans, a place of great devotion, near the city, called La Candelaria.¹⁸²

This city is the capital of the kingdom and the head of the government of all the islands. It is the metropolis of the other cities and settlements of the islands. In it reside the Audiencia and Chancillería of his Majesty, and the governor and captain-general of the islands.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Better, Maalat. The Spaniards pronounced this later Malate. There lived the chief Tagáls after they were deprived of their houses in Manila, among whom were the families of Raja Matanda and Raja Soliman. San Agustín says that even in his day many of the ancient nobility dwelt there, and that they were very urbane and cultured. "The men hold various positions in Manila, and certain occupations in some of the local public functions. The women make excellent lace, in which they are so skilful that the Dutch women cannot surpass them." This is still true of the women.—RIZAL.

¹⁸² Now the town of Paco.—RIZAL.

¹⁸³ *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. ii, tit. xv, ley xi, defines the district of the Audiencia, and states certain prerogatives of the gov-

Manila has a city cabildo with two alcaldes-in-ordinary, twelve perpetual regidores, an alguacil-mayor [*i.e.*, chief constable], a royal standard-bearer, the scrivener of the cabildo, and other officials.

The archbishop of the Filipinas Islands resides in this city. He has his metropolitan church, and all the cathedral dignitaries – canons, racioneros, medias racioneros,¹⁸⁴ chaplains, and sacristans – and a music-choir, who chant to the accompaniment of the organ and of flutes [*ministriles*]. The cathedral is quite ornate and well decorated, and the Divine offices are celebrated there with the utmost gravity and ceremony. As suffragans the cathedral has three

ernor and auditors as follows: “In the city of Manila, in the island of Luzon, capital of the Felipinas, shall reside our royal Audiencia and Chancillería, with a president who shall be governor and captain-general, four auditors, who shall also be alcaldes of criminal cases, one fiscal, one alguacil-mayor, one lieutenant of the grand chancellor, and the other ministers and officials necessary. It shall have as its district the said island of Luzon, and all the rest of the Filipinas, the archipelago of China and its mainland as yet discovered and to be discovered. We order the governor and captain-general of the said islands and provinces and president of the royal Audiencia in them, to hold personal charge in peace and war of the superior government of all the district of the said Audiencia, and to make the provisions and concessions in our royal name, which in accordance with the laws of this *Recopilación* and of these kingdoms of Castilla, and with the instructions and powers that he shall get from us, he should and can make. In things and matters of importance that arise in the government, the said president governor shall discuss them with the auditors of the said Audiencia, so that they, after consulting, may give him their opinion. He, after hearing them, shall take what course is most advisable to the service of God and to ours, and the peace and quiet of that province and community.” Felipe II, Aranjuez, May 5, 1583; Toledo, May 25, 1596, in ordinance of the Audiencia; Felipe IV in this *Recopilación*.

¹⁸⁴ The original is *canongias, raciones, y medias raciones*, which literally refers to the office or prebend instead of the individual. We retain the above terms as expressing the persons who held these prebends.

bishops – namely, in the island of Sebu, and in Cagayan and Camarines.¹⁸⁵

There is a royal treasury with three royal officials – factor, accountant, and treasurer – by whom the royal revenue of all the islands is managed.¹⁸⁶

The vessels sailing annually to Nueva España with the merchandise and investments of all the islands are despatched from the city of Manila; and they return thither from Nueva España with the proceeds of this merchandise, and the usual reënforcements.

In the city is established the camp of the regular soldiers whom his Majesty has had stationed in the islands.

Several galleys are also stationed at Manila with their general and captains, as well as other war-vessels, of deep draft, and smaller ones built like those used by the natives, to attend to the needs of all the islands.

The majority of the vessels from China, Japon, Maluco, Borney, Sian, Malaca, and India, that come to the Filipinas with their merchandise and articles of trade, gather in the bay and river of Manila. In that city they sell and trade for all the islands and their settlements.

In the province [of Cagayán] of this same island of Luzon was founded the city of Segovia,¹⁸⁷ during

¹⁸⁵ Literally, the original translates “in the islands of Sebu, Cagayan, and Camarines.”

¹⁸⁶ This is so changed now [1890] and the employees so increased in number, that the annual expenses amount to more than 2,000,000 pesos, while the intendant's salary is 12,000 pesos.—RIZAL.

¹⁸⁷ This city has disappeared from the map and from the earth. An inconsiderable town named Lal-ló occupies its site. It is still [1890], however, named as the appointment of the bishopric of Bigan, the actual residence of the bishop.—RIZAL.

the term of Don Gonçalo Ronquillo, the third governor. It has two hundred Spanish inhabitants who live in wooden houses on the shore of the Tajo River, two leguas from the sea and port of Camalayuga. There is a stone fort near the city for the defense of it and of the river. This fort mounts some artillery, and has its own commandant. Besides the inhabitants, there are generally one hundred regular soldiers, arquebusiers, and their officers. They are all in charge and under command of the alcaide-mayor of the province, who is its military commander.

In that city is established a bishop and his church, although at present the latter has no dignitaries or prebendaries.¹⁸⁸ There is a city cabildo consisting of two alcaldes, six regidores, and an alguacil-mayor. The city abounds in all kinds of food and refreshment at very cheap prices.

The city of Cáceres was founded in the province of Camarines of the same island of Luzon, during the term of Doctor Sande, governor of the Filipinas. It has about one hundred Spanish inhabitants; and

¹⁸⁸ An attempt was made to supply the lack of prebends in the cathedral cities of the Philippines by the following law: "Inasmuch as the bishops of the churches of Nueva Cáceres, Nueva Segovia, and of the Name of Jesus of the Filipinas Islands should have men to assist them in the pontifical acts, and the bishops should have all the propriety possible in their churches, and divine worship more reverence; and inasmuch as there are no tithes with which a few prebendaries can be sustained in the churches: therefore our governor of those islands shall appoint to each of the said churches two ecclesiastics of good life and example, who shall aid and assist the bishop in the pontifical acts, and in all else relating to divine worship. He shall assign them a certain modest sum for their support from our royal treasury, so that with that they may for the present serve the churches, until there be more opportunity for endowing them with prebendaries and providing other necessary things." Felipe III, San Lorenzo, October 5, 1606. *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. i, tit. vi, ley xviii.

has its cabildo, consisting of alcaldes, regidores, and officials. A bishop of that province is established there and has his church, although without dignitaries or prebendaries. A monastery of discolored Franciscans is located there. The government and military affairs of that province are under one alcalde-mayor and war-captain, who resides in Caceres. The latter is a place abounding in and furnished with all kinds of provisions, at very low rates. It is founded on the bank of a river, four leguas inland from the sea, and its houses are of wood.

The fourth city is that called Santisimo Nombre de Jesus; it is located in the island of Sebu, in the province of Bicayas or Pintados. It was the first Spanish settlement and was founded by the adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, the first governor. It is a fine seaport, whose water is very clear and deep, and capable of holding many vessels. The city has an excellent stone fort, which mounts a considerable quantity of artillery, and which has its commandant and officers for the guard and defense of the port and of the city. It is sufficiently garrisoned with regulars, and is under command of the alcalde-mayor, the military commander of the province, who lives in the city. The settlement contains about two hundred Spanish inhabitants who live in houses of wood. It has a cabildo, consisting of two alcaldes-in-ordinary, eight regidores, and an alguacil-mayor and his officers. It has a bishop and his church, like those of other cities of these islands, without prebendaries.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ The Rizal edition omits a considerable portion of this paragraph. The omission is as follows: *para guarda del puerto, y defensa de la ciudad, con bastante guarnicion de soldados de paga, a orden del alcalde mayor, capitan a guerra de la prouincia,*

The city is provided with food by, and is a station for, the ships going from Maluco to Manila. Through his Majesty's concession they keep there a deep-draft merchant vessel, which generally leaves its port for Nueva España, laden with the merchandise of the products gathered in those provinces. It has a monastery of Augustinian religious and a seminary of the Society of Jesus.

The town of Arevalo was founded on the island of Oton [Panay], during the term of Don Gonçalo Ronquillo.¹⁹⁰ It contains about eighty Spanish inhabitants, and is located close to the sea. It has a wooden fort, which mounts some artillery, and a monastery of the Order of St. Augustine; also a parish church, with its own vicar and secular priest. This church belongs to the diocese of the Sebu bishopric.

It has a cabildo, consisting of alcaldes, regidores, and other officials. There is one alcalde-mayor and military leader in those provinces. The town is well supplied with all kinds of provisions, sold at very low rates.

The settlement of Villa Fernandina,¹⁹¹ which was founded in the province of the Ilocos on the island of Luzon, is settled by Spaniards, but very few of them remain there. It has a church, with its own vicar and secular priest. Now no mention will be made of it, on account of what has been said. The

que reside en la ciudad. Sera la poblazon, de dozientos vezinos Españoles, con casas de maderá, tiene Cabildo, de dos alcaldes ordinarios, ocho rejidores, alguazil mayor y sus oficiales.

¹⁹⁰ Now [1890] of slight importance. Of its former grandeur there remain only 1,000 inhabitants, with a parochial house, a justice's house, a prison, and a primary school.—RIZAL.

¹⁹¹ Vigan or Bigan.—RIZAL.

alcalde-mayor of the province resides there, and the town is situated in the diocese of the Cagayan bishopric.

From the earliest beginning of the conquest and pacification of the Filipinas Islands, the preaching of the holy gospel therein and the conversion of the natives to our holy Catholic faith were undertaken. The first to set hand to this task were the religious of the Order of St. Augustine, who went there with the adelantado Legazpi in the fleet of discovery, and those of the same order who went afterward to labor in this work, and toiled therein with great fervor and zeal. Thus, finding the harvest in good season, they gathered the first fruits of it, and converted and baptized many infidels throughout the said islands.¹⁹²

Next to them in the fame of this conversion, the discalced religious of the Order of St. Francis went to the islands by way of Nueva España; then those of the Order of St. Dominic, and of the Society of Jesus.¹⁹³ Lastly, the discalced Augustinian Recollects went. One and all, after being established in the islands, worked in the conversion and instruction of the natives. Consequently they have made – and there are now in all the islands – a great number of baptized natives, besides many others in many parts, who, for want of laborers, have been put off, and are awaiting this blessing and priests to minister to them. Hitherto there have been but few missions in charge of secular priests, as not many of these have

¹⁹² Legazpi also had two secular priests, Juan de Vivero and Juan de Villanueva, who had part in the first conversions.—RIZAL.

¹⁹³ The Jesuits preceded the Dominicans seven years as missionaries to the Filipinas. The first Jesuits came over with Domingo de Salazar, the first bishop, and his Dominican associate.—RIZAL.

gone to the islands; and as very few have been ordained there, for lack of students.

The Order of St. Augustine has many missions in the islands of Pintados and has established and occupied monasteries and various visitas.¹⁹⁴ In the island of Luzon, they have those of the province of Ylocos, some in Pangasinan, and all those of La Pampanga – a large number of monasteries; while in the province of Manila and its vicinity they have others, which are flourishing.

The Order of St. Dominic has the missions of the province of Cagayan, and others in the province of Pangasinan, where are many monasteries and visitas. They also administer others about the city.

The Order of St. Francis has some missions and monasteries about Manila, all the province of Camarines and the coast opposite, and La Laguna de Bay. These include many missions.

The Society of Jesus has three large missions in the neighborhood of Manila, which have many visitas. In the Pintados it has many others on the islands of Sebu, Leite, Ybabao, Camar [Samar], Bohol, and others near by. They have good men, who are solicitous for the conversion of the natives.

These four orders have produced many good results in the conversion of these islands, as above stated; and in good sooth the people have taken firm hold of the faith, as they are a people of so good understanding. They have recognized the errors of their paganism and the truths of the Christian religion; and they possess good and well-built churches and monasteries of wood with their reredoses and

¹⁹⁴ *Visita*: here meaning a district which has no resident missionary, but is visited by religious from some mission station, on which the visita is therefore dependent.

beautiful ornaments, and all the utensils, crosses, candlesticks, and chalices of silver and gold. Many devotions are offered, and there are many confraternities. There is assiduity in taking the sacraments and in attendance on the Divine services; and the people are careful to entertain and support their religious (to whom they show great obedience and respect) by the many alms that they give them, as well as by those that they give for the suffrages and the burial of their dead, which they provide with all punctuality and liberality.

At the same time that the religious undertook to teach the natives the precepts of religion, they labored to instruct them in matters of their own improvement, and established schools for the reading and writing of Spanish among the boys. They taught them to serve in the church, to sing the plain-song, and to the accompaniment of the organ; to play the flute, to dance, and to sing; and to play the harp, guitar, and other instruments. In this they show very great adaptability, especially about Manila; where there are many fine choirs of chanters and musicians composed of natives, who are skilful and have good voices. There are many dancers, and musicians on the other instruments which solemnize and adorn the feasts of the most holy sacrament, and many other feasts during the year. The native boys present dramas and comedies, both in Spanish and in their own language, very charmingly. This is due to the care and interest of the religious, who work tirelessly for the natives' advancement.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Cf. with the musical ability of the Filipinos that displayed by the North American Indians, as described in *The Jesuit Relations*, vols. vi, p. 183; xviii, p. 161; xxiii, p. 213; xxvii, p. 117; xxxi, p. 219; xxxviii, pp. 259, 263; etc.

In these islands there is no native province or settlement which resists conversion or does not desire it. But, as above stated, baptism has been postponed in some districts, for lack of workers to remain with the people, in order that they may not retrograde and return to their idolatries. In this work, the best that is possible is done, for the mission-fields are very large and extensive. In many districts the religious make use, in their visitas, of certain of the natives who are clever and well instructed, so that these may teach the others to pray daily, instruct them in other matters touching religion, and see that they come to mass at the central missions; and in this way they succeed in preserving and maintaining their converts.

Hitherto, the orders who control these missions in virtue of the *omnimodo* and other apostolic concessions¹⁹⁶ have attended to the conversion of the natives, administered the sacraments, looked after the spiritual and temporal and ecclesiastical affairs of the natives, and absolved them in cases of difficulty. But now that there are an archbishop and bishops, this is being curtailed, and the management of these affairs is being given to the bishops, as the archbishop's vicars – although not to such an extent, nor has the administration of these natives been placed in their charge, in matters of justice, and under the

¹⁹⁶ Chirino (chapter vii) mentions the apportionment, by the king, of distinct districts to the different orders. The Augustinian authorities in Mexico granted permission to those of their order going to the Philippines to establish themselves wherever they wished in the islands (see VOL. II, pp. 161-168), and the latter exercised the *omnimodo* [*i.e.*, entire] ecclesiastical authority, as conceded by the popes, until the arrival of the Franciscans in 1577. Papal concessions probably marked out the districts as apportioned by the king.

inspection and superintendence of the bishops, as they have endeavored to obtain.¹⁹⁷

The governor and royal Audiencia of Manila attend to what it is advisable to provide and direct for the greatest accomplishment and advancement of this conversion, and the administration of the natives and their missions—both by causing the encomenderos to assist the religious and churches, in the encomiendas that they enjoy, with the stipends and necessary expenses of the missions; and by furnishing from the royal revenues what pertains to it, which is no less a sum.¹⁹⁸ They also ordain whatever else is required to be provided and remedied for the said missions and for the advancement of the natives. This also is attended to by the archbishop and the bishops in what pertains to them in their duty and charge as pastors.

The Holy Office of the Inquisition, residing in Mexico of Nueva España, has its commissaries, servants, and helpers in Manila and in the bishoprics of the islands, who attend to matters touching the

¹⁹⁷ Morga refers, with his characteristic prudence, to the great question of diocesan visits, which commenced with Fray Domingo de Salazar, and which could not be ended until 1775, in the time of Anda—thanks to the energy of the latter and the courage of Archbishop Don Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, when after great disturbances they succeeded in subjecting the regular curas to the inspection of the bishops. Morga, however, shows that he did not approve the claims of the religious to independence, but does not dare to state so distinctly.—RIZAL.

¹⁹⁸ The Augustinians received also one-fourth part of the tribute from the villages while they were building churches; and 200 pesos fuertes [*i.e.*, ten-real pieces] and 200 cavans [the cavan equals 25 gantas, or 137 Spanish libras] of cleaned rice for four religious who heard confessions during Lent. Fifty cavans of cleaned rice per person seems to us too much. It results that each friar consumes $12\frac{1}{2}$ libras of rice or 27 chupas [the chupa is $\frac{1}{3}$ ganta or 3 litros] daily, thirteen times as much as any Indian.—RIZAL.

Holy Office. They never fail to have plenty to do there because of the entrance of so many strangers into those districts. However, this holy tribunal does not have jurisdiction of the causes pertaining to the natives, as the latter are so recently converted.

All these islands are subdued, and are governed from Manila by means of *alcaldes-mayor*, *corregidores*, and lieutenants, each of whom rules and administers justice in his own district and province. Appeals from their acts and sentences go to the royal Audiencia. The governor and captain-general provides what pertains to government and war.

The chiefs, who formerly held the other natives in subjection, now have no power over them in the tyrannical manner of former days. This was not the least benefit received by these natives in having been freed from such servitude. However, it is true that matters touching the slavery of former days have remained on the same footing as before. The king our sovereign has ordered by his decrees that the honors of the chiefs be preserved to them as such; and that the other natives recognize them and assist them with certain of the labors that they used to give when pagans. This is done with the lords and possessors of *barangays*, and those belonging to such and such a *barangay* are under that chief's control. When he harvests his rice, they go one day to help him; and the same if he builds a house, or rebuilds one. This chief lord of a *barangay* collects tribute from his adherents, and takes charge of these collections, to pay them to the *encomendero*.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. vi, tit. vii, ley xvi, contains the following in regard to the native chiefs: "It is not right that the Indian chiefs of Filipinas be in a worse condition after conversion; rather should they have such treatment that would gain

Besides the above, each village has a governor²⁰⁰ who is elected. He and his constables who are called *vilangos*²⁰¹ comprise the usual magistracy among the natives. The governor hears civil suits where a moderate sum is involved; in appeal, the case goes to the corregidor or alcalde-mayor of the province. These governors are elected annually by the votes of all the married natives of such and such a village. The governor of Manila confirms the election, and gives the title of governor to the one elected, and orders him to take the residencia of the outgoing governor.²⁰² This governor, in addition to the vilangos and scrivener (before whom he makes his acts in writing, in the language of the natives of that province),²⁰³ holds also the chiefs—lords of barangays, and those who are not so—under his rule and government, and, for any special service, such as collections of tributes, and assignments of personal serv-

their affection and keep them loyal, so that with the spiritual blessings that God has communicated to them by calling them to His true knowledge, the temporal blessings may be joined, and they may live contentedly and comfortably. Therefore, we order the governors of those islands to show them good treatment and entrust them, in our name, with the government of the Indians, of whom they were formerly the lords. In all else the governors shall see that the chiefs are benefited justly, and the Indians shall pay them something as a recognition, as they did during the period of their paganism, provided it be without prejudice to the tributes that are to be paid us, or prejudicial to that which pertains to their encomenderos." Felipe II, Madrid, June 11, 1594.

²⁰⁰ The *gobernadorcillo* ["little or petty governor"].

²⁰¹ *Bilangô* signifies today in Tagál "the act of imprisoning," and *bilanguan* "the prison."—RIZAL.

²⁰² For good expositions of local government in modern times, see Bowring, *Visit to the Philippine Isles* (London, 1859), pp. 87-93; and Montero y Vidal, *Archipiélago Filipino* (Madrid, 1886), pp. 162-168.

²⁰³ These are now [1890] made in Spanish.—RIZAL.

ices, as his *datos* and *mandones*.²⁰⁴ They do not allow the chiefs to oppress the timaguas or slaves under their control.

The same customs observed by these natives in their paganism, are observed by them since they have become Christians, in so far as they are not contrary to natural law, especially as to their slavery, successions, inheritances, adoptions, wills, and lawful trading. In their suits, they always allege and prove the custom, and are judged by it, according to royal decrees to that effect. In other causes which do not involve their customs, and in criminal cases, the matter is determined by law as among Spaniards.

All of these islands and their natives, so far as they were pacified, were apportioned into encomiendas from the beginning. To the royal crown were allotted those which were chief towns and ports, and the dwellers of the cities and towns; and also other special encomiendas and villages in all the provinces, for the necessities and expenses of the royal estate. All the rest was assigned to the conquerors and settlers who have served and labored for the conquest and pacification, and in the war. This matter is in charge of the governor, who takes into consideration the merits and services of the claimants.²⁰⁵ In like

²⁰⁴ Names of petty officers: the former the name of an officer in oriental countries; the second signifying one who commands. Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera (*Costumbres de los Tagalos*, Madrid, 1892, p. 10, note 1) says the word *dato* is now unused by the Tagáls. *Datu* or *datuls* primitively signified "grandfather," or "head of the family," which was equivalent to the head of the barangay. This name is used in Mindanao and Joló to designate certain chiefs.

²⁰⁵ A later law in *Recopilación de leyes* (lib. vi, tit. viii, ley xi) regulates the encomienda-giving power as follows: "The governor and captain-general of Filipinas shall apportion the encomi-

manner the villages that become vacant are assigned. There are many very excellent encomiendas throughout the islands, and they offer many profits, both by the amount of their tributes and by the nature and value of what is paid as tribute.²⁰⁶ The encomienda lasts, according to the royal laws and decrees, and by the regular order and manner of succession to them, for two lives; but it may be extended to a third life, by permission. After it becomes vacant, it is again assigned and granted anew.

The tributes paid to their encomenderos by the natives were assigned by the first governor, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, in the provinces of Vicayas and Pintados, and in the islands of Luzon and its vicinity; they were equal to the sum of eight reals annually for an entire tribute from each tributario. The natives were to pay it in their products – in gold, cloth, cotton, rice, bells, fowls, and whatever else they possessed or harvested. The fixed price and value of

endas, in accordance with the regulations to worthy persons, without having other respect than to the service of God our Lord, and our service, the welfare of the public cause, and the remuneration of the most deserving. Within sixty days, reckoned from the time that he shall have heard of the vacancy, he shall be obliged to apportion them. If he does not do so, the right to apportion them shall devolve upon and pertain to our royal Audiencia of those islands, and we order the Audiencia to apportion them, paying heed to the laws, within six days, and to avail itself of the edicts and diligences issued by the governor without other new ones. In case the governor shall not have issued edicts and diligences, the Audiencia shall issue them and make the provision within twenty days." Felipe III, Madrid, June 4, 1620.

²⁰⁶ The rapidity with which many of these encomenderos amassed great wealth in a few years is known, and that they left colossal fortunes at their death. Some were not satisfied with the tributes and with what they demanded, but made false measures, and balances that weighed twice as much as was indicated. They often exacted the tributes in certain products only, and appraised the same at what value they wished.—RIZAL.

each article was assigned so that, when the tribute was paid in any one of them, or in all of them, it should not exceed the value of the eight reals. So it has continued until now, and the governors have increased the appraisements and values of the products at different times, as they have deemed advisable.

The encomenderos have made great profits in collecting in kind, for, after they acquired possession of the products, they sold them at higher prices. By this they increased their incomes and the proceeds of their encomiendas considerably; until a few years ago his Majesty, by petition of the religious and the pressure that they brought to bear on him in this matter, ordered for this region that the natives should pay their tribute in whatever they wished – in kind or in money – without being compelled to do otherwise. Consequently, when they should have paid their eight reals, they would have fulfilled their obligation. Accordingly this rule was initiated; but experience demonstrates that, although it seemed a merciful measure, and one favorable to the natives, it is doing them great injury. For, since they naturally dislike to work, they do not sow, spin, dig gold, rear fowls, or raise other food supplies, as they did before, when they had to pay the tribute in those articles. They easily obtain, without so much work, the peso of money which is the amount of their tribute. Consequently it follows that the natives have less capital and wealth, because they do not work; and the country, which was formerly very well provided and well-supplied with all products, is now suffering want and deprivation of them. The owners of the encomiendas, both those of his Majesty and those of private persons who possess them, have sustained

considerable loss and reduction in the value of the encomiendas.

When Gomez Perez Dasmariñas was appointed governor of the Filipinas, he brought royal decrees ordering the formation of the camp in Manila, with an enrollment of four hundred paid soldiers, with their officers, galleys, and other military supplies, for the defense and security of the country. Before that time all the Spanish inhabitants had attended to that without any pay. Then an increase of two reals to each tributario over the eight reals was ordered. This was to be collected by the encomenderos at the same time when they collected the eight reals of the tribute, and was to be delivered and placed in the royal treasury. There this amount was to be entered on an account separate from that of the other revenue of his Majesty, and was to be applied in the following manner: one and one-half reals for the expenses of the said camp and war stores; and the remaining half real for the pay of the prebendaries of the Manila church, which his Majesty pays from his treasury, until such time as their tithes and incomes suffice for their sustenance.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ A law in *Recopilación de leyes* (lib. vi, tit. v, ley lxxv) cites the above provision and confirms it anew: "In order to provide instruction for certain villages of the Filipinas Islands, which did not enjoy it, or if they had it, it was not sufficient, it was resolved to increase the tribute, which was formerly eight reals, or its value, per peso, to the proportion of ten Castilian reals apiece. It was ordered that the increased amount be placed in our royal treasury, and one-half real of it be applied to paying the obligations which had to be met in regard to the tithes, while the one and one-half reals would remain to pay those soldiers there and for other purposes; in consideration of the fact that the funds necessary to send out religious, who are employed in the preaching of the holy gospel, are supplied from our royal treasury, and that the encomenderos were obliged to pay for the ordinary instruction from the eight reals, and the part of the building of churches that fell to

These tributes are collected from all the natives, Christians and infidels, in their entirety – except that in those encomiendas without instruction the encomendero does not take the fourth part of the eight reals (which equals two reals) for himself, since that encomienda has no instruction or expenses for it; but he takes them and deposits them in Manila, in a fund called “the fourths.”²⁰⁸ The money obtained from this source is applied to and spent in hospitals for the natives, and in other works beneficial to them, at the option of the governor. As fast as the encomiendas are supplied with instruction and religious, the collection of these fourths and their expenditure in these special works cease.

Some provinces have taken the census of their natives; and according to these the tributes and the assignment of the two reals are collected.

In most of the provinces no census has been taken, and the tributes are collected when due by the en-

their share, while the Indians had the choice of paying all the tribute in money or in products, or in both. Thus was it enacted and voted. We order no innovation to be made in this regard, in consideration of the welfare and conservation of those provinces and their natives, and so that the choice of paying in money shall not occasion any lack of products and cause sterility.” Felipe II, San Lorenzo, August 1589; Felipe III, Zamora, February 16, 1602.

²⁰⁸ The following law regulates supervision of the accounts of this fund: “Inasmuch as, when any encomienda of the Filipinas Islands happens to be without instruction, the fourth part of the tribute collected by the encomendero is deposited in a box with three keys, in order that it may be converted into benefices for the Indians; and as it is advisable that that ordinance be executed sensibly and properly, and that we should know the amount of it and how it is apportioned: therefore, we order our presidents, the governors of the Filipinas Islands, that whenever they deem it advisable to examine the account, they shall appoint for that purpose one of the officials of our royal treasury of those islands – the one most suitable for it – who shall examine them. The fiscal of our

comenderos and their collectors, through the chiefs of their encomiendas, by means of the lists and memoranda of former years. From them the names of the deceased and of those who have changed their residence are erased, and the names of those who have grown up, and of those who have recently moved into the encomienda, are added. When any shortage is perceived in the accounts, a new count is requested and made.

The natives are free to move from one island to another, and from one province to another, and pay their tribute for that year in which they move and change their residence in the place to which they move; and to move from a Christian village that has instruction to another village possessing it. But, on the other hand, they may not move from a place having instruction to one without it, nor in the same village from one barangay to another, nor from one faction to another. In this respect, the necessary precautions are made by the government, and the necessary provisions by the Audiencia, so that this system may be kept, and so that all annoyances resulting from the moving of the settled natives of one place to another place may be avoided.

Neither are the natives allowed to go out of their villages for trade, except by permission of the governor, or of his alcaldes-mayor and justices, or even of the religious, who most often have been embarrassed by this, because of the instruction. This is

royal Audiencia shall investigate them before they are finished; and shall ask and see that they are executed with the care that the matter requires in regard to their items, charges, articles, and balances, and whatever else is advisable. He shall advise our president and governor of it all, so that he may assist him in what may be necessary, and advise us of the result." Felipe III, Madrid, June 4, 1620, in *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. i, tit. xiii, ley xiv.

done so that the natives may not wander about aimlessly when there is no need of it, away from their homes and settlements.

Those natives who possess slaves pay their tributes for them if the slaves are *saguiguilirs*. If the slaves are *namamahays* living outside their owners' houses, they pay their own tributes, inasmuch as they possess their own houses and means of gain.

The Spaniards used to have slaves from these natives, whom they had bought from them, and others whom they obtained in certain expeditions during the conquest and pacification of the islands. This was stopped by a brief of his Holiness ²⁰⁹ and by royal decrees. Consequently, all of these slaves who were then in the possession of the Spanish, and who were natives of these islands, in whatever manner they had been acquired, were freed; and the Spaniards were forever prohibited from holding them as slaves, or

²⁰⁹ The bull here referred to was issued by Gregory XIV, and dated April 18, 1591. The seventh section reads as follows: "Finally, since, as we have learned, our very dear son in Christ, Philip, Catholic King of the Spains, on account of the many deceits wont to be practised therein, has forbidden any Spaniard in the aforesaid Philippine Islands to dare to take, or have, or hold any slaves, or servants, even by right of just and unjust war, or of purchase, or by whatsoever other title, or pretext; although some, despite the edict, or mandate, of King Philip himself, still keep the same slaves in their power: therefore in order that, as is befitting to reason and equity, the Indians themselves may freely and safely without any fear of bondage come and go to their Christian doctrinas, and to their own homes and possessions, we order and command all and singular the persons living in the same islands, of whatsoever state, degree, condition, order, and rank they may be, in virtue of holy obedience and under pain of excommunication, on the publication of these presents, in accordance with the edict, or mandate of the said King Philip, to release wholly free, without deceit and guile, whatsoever Indian slaves and servants they may have, or hold; nor ever for the future in any manner to take or keep captives, or servants."—[Translated from the original by REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.]

from capturing them for any reason, or under pretext of war, or in any other manner. The service rendered by these natives is in return for pay and daily wages. The other slaves and captives that the Spaniards possess are Cafres and blacks brought by the Portuguese by way of India, and are held in slavery justifiably, in accordance with the provincial councils and the permissions of the prelates and justices of those districts.

The natives of these islands have also their personal services, which they are obliged to render – in some parts more than in others – to the Spaniards. These are done in different ways, and are commonly called the *polo*.²¹⁰ For, where there are alcaldes-mayor and justices, they assign and distribute certain natives by the week for the service of their houses. They pay these servants a moderate wage, which generally amounts to one-fourth real per day, and rice for their food. The same is done by the religious for the mission, and for their monasteries and churches, and for their works, and for public works.²¹¹

The Indians also furnish rice, and food of all

²¹⁰ This [1890] has disappeared from legislation, although the personal services for España are still continued, and are fifteen days.—RIZAL.

²¹¹ *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. vi, tit. xii, ley xii, treating of personal services, reads as follows: "The religious and the ministers of the instruction, and the alcaldes-mayor of the Filipinas Islands have a weekly repartimiento of Indians which they call *tanores*, so that the Indians may serve them without pay; and besides the villages contribute to them the fish necessary to them on Fridays, which is against reason and justice. We order the governor and captain-general, the Audiencia, and any other of our justices, to stop and not allow this personal service and contribution, so that the villages shall in no manner perform it, and we declare the villages free from any obligation that they have or may have." This law is dated Madrid, March 17, 1608.

kinds, at the prices at which they are valued and sold among the natives. These prices are always very moderate. The *datos*, *vilangos*, and *fiscals* make the division, collect, and take these supplies from the natives; and in the same manner they supply their *encomenderos* when these go to make the collections.

The greatest service rendered by these natives is on occasions of war, when they act as rowers and crews for the *vireys* and vessels that go on the expeditions, and as pioneers for any service that arises in the course of the war, although their pay and wages are given them.

In the same way natives are assigned and apportioned for the king's works, such as the building of ships, the cutting of wood, the trade of making the rigging,²¹² the work in the artillery foundry, and the service in the royal ²¹³ magazines; and they are paid their stipend and daily wage.

In other things pertaining to the service of the Spaniards and their expeditions, works, and any other service, performed by the natives, the service is voluntary, and paid by mutual agreement;²¹⁴ for, as hitherto, the Spaniards have worked no mines, nor have they given themselves to the gains to be derived from field labors, there is no occasion for employing the natives in anything of that sort.

Most of the Spaniards of the Filipinas Islands reside in the city of Manila, the capital of the king-

²¹² Taal was one of the villages where the most rigging was made for the royal ships.—RIZAL.

²¹³ This word *reales* is omitted in the Rizal edition.

²¹⁴ A comparatively early law (*Recopilación de leyes*, lib. vi, tit. i, ley xv), prohibits the forcible removal of the natives for expeditions of conquest from one island to another. It is as follows: "We order that the Indians in the Filipinas Islands be not taken

dom, and where the chief trade and commerce is carried on. Some encomenderos live in provinces or districts adjacent to Manila, while other Spaniards live in the cities of Segovia, Caçeres, Santísimo Nombre de Jesus (in Sebu), and in the town of Arevalo, where they are settled, and where most of them have their encomiendas.

Spaniards may not go to the Indian villages,²¹⁵ except for the collection of the tributes when they are due; and then only the *alcaldes-mayor*, *corregidores*, and justices. It is not permitted these to remain continually in one settlement of their district, but they must visit as much of it as possible. They must change their residence and place of abode every four months to another chief village and settlement, where all the natives may obtain the benefit of their presence; and so that the natives may receive as slight annoyance as possible in supporting them and in the ordinary service that they render them.²¹⁶

The governor makes appointments to all offices. When the term of office expires, the royal Audiencia orders the *residencia* of each official to be taken, and his case is decided in accordance therewith; and until the *residencia* is completed, the incumbent cannot be appointed to any other duty or office. The governor also appoints commandants of forts, from one island to another forcibly in order to make incursions, and against their will, unless it be under very necessary circumstances, and paying them for their work and trouble. They shall be well treated and receive no injury." Felipe II, Madrid, November 7, 1574.

²¹⁵ In Java also the Dutch restrict Europeans from roaming about the country; this is a good regulation for the protection of the inhabitants.—STANLEY.

²¹⁶ Stanley praises these regulations; Rizal deplors them, as keeping the men in authority out of touch with the people.

panies, and other military officials, in all the cities, towns, and hamlets of the islands.²¹⁷

Certain offices of regidores and notaries have been sold by royal decree for one life. But the sale of these offices has been superseded, as it is now considered that the price paid for them is of little consideration, while the disadvantage of perpetuating the purchasers in office by this method is greater.

Elections of *alcaldes-in-ordinary* for all the Spanish towns are held on New Year's day by the *cabildo* and magistracy. The *residencias* of these *alcaldes-in-ordinary* and their *cabildos* are ordered by his Majesty to be taken at the same time as that of the governor and captain-general of the islands is taken; and they give account of the administration of the revenues and the estates under their care. However, the governor may take it before this, every year, or whenever he thinks it expedient and cause the balances of their accounts to be collected. With the governor's advice and permission the expenses desired by the towns are made.

The city of Manila has sufficient public funds for certain years, through the fines imposed by its judges; in its own particular possessions, inside and outside the city; in the reweighing of the merchandise and the rents of all the shops and sites of the *Sangleys* in the *parián*; and in the monopoly on playing cards. All this was conceded to the city by his

²¹⁷ *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. iv, tit. x, ley vii, has the following law, dated Madrid, March 17, 1608: "The governor and captain-general of Filipinas shall for the present appoint the magistracy [*regimiento*] of the city of Manila, choosing persons who shall prove to be suitable for the office and zealous for the service of God our Lord, and for ours; and he shall not remove them without our special order."

Majesty, especially for the expenses of its fortification.²¹⁸ These revenues are spent for that purpose; for the salaries of its officials, and those of the agents sent to España; and for the feasts of the city, chief of which are St. Potenciana's day, May nineteen, when the Spaniards entered and seized the city, and the day of St. Andrew, November 30, the date on which the pirate Limahon was conquered and driven from the city. On that day the city officials take out the municipal standard, and to the sound of music go to vespers and mass at the church of San Andres, where the entire city, with the magistracy and cabildo and the royal Audiencia, assemble with all solemnity. The above revenues are also used in receiving the governors at their first arrival in the country, in the kings' marriage feasts, and the births of princes, and in the honors and funeral celebrations for the kings and princes who die. In all the above the greatest possible display is made.

The other cities and settlements do not possess as yet so many sources of wealth or revenue, or the occasions on which to spend them – although, as far as possible, they take part in them, in all celebrations of the same kind.

The Spaniards living in the islands are divided into five classes of people: namely, prelates, religious, and ecclesiastical ministers, both secular and regular; encomenderos, settlers, and conquerors; soldiers, officers, and officials of war (both on land and sea), and those for navigation; merchants, business men, and traders; and his Majesty's agents for govern-

²¹⁸ Many royal decrees related to playing cards. The monopoly ceased to exist perhaps before the government monopoly on betel was initiated. – RIZAL (in part).

ment, justice, and administration of his royal revenue.

The ecclesiastical prelates have already been stated, and are as follows: The archbishop of Manila, who resides in the city, as metropolitan, in charge of his cathedral church; he has a salary of four thousand pesos,²¹⁹ which is paid from the royal treasury annually. Likewise the salaries paid to the holders of the dignidades,²²⁰ canonries, and other prebends, and those performing other services, are paid in the same manner. They are all under royal patronage, and are provided in accordance with the king's orders. The archbishop's office and jurisdiction consists of and extends to all, both the spiritual and temporal, that is ecclesiastic, and to its management.²²¹

²¹⁹ In 1890 he received 12,000 pesos.—RIZAL.

²²⁰ The prebend, in Spanish cathedrals, superior to a canonry.

The following laws (xvi and xvii, respectively) as to the appointments of vacant prebends, are found in *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. i, tit. vi.

"Because of the great distance from these kingdoms to the Filipinas Islands and the inconvenience that might result from the prebends falling vacant without any provision being made until we present those who shall take them, we order the governor and captain-general of the said islands that, when dignidades, canonries, and other prebends in the metropolitan church become vacant, he shall present other persons of the sufficiency and characteristics required, so that they may serve in place of their predecessors, until we provide persons for them. They shall receive the stipend that their predecessors shall have received. The governor shall observe the rules made by the laws of this titulo in his presentations." Felipe II, Guadalupe, March 26, 1580.

"We order our governors of the Filipinas Islands, and charge the archbishops of Manila, that when any prebends of that church become vacant, they send us three nominations for each one, instead of one only, with very minute advice of their sufficiency, learning, degrees, and all other qualities that are found in those proposed, so that after examination, we may appoint the one most suitable." Felipe III, Lerma, June 28, 1608.

²²¹ In 1890 the Filipinas were paying 36,670 pesos annually for

The bishop of the city of Santísimo Nombre de Jesus in Sibu, that of Segovia in Cagayan, and that of Caceres in Camarines, have the same rights of jurisdiction and enjoy the same privileges in their dioceses, since they are suffragans of the archbishop of Manila; appeal from their judgments is made to the latter, and he summons and convokes them to his provincial councils whenever necessary. They receive each an annual salary of five hundred thousand maravedis for their support, which is paid from the royal treasury of Manila, besides their offerings and pontifical dues. All together it is quite sufficient for their support, according to the convenience of things and the cheapness of the country. At present the bishops do not possess churches with prebendaries nor is any money set aside for that.²²²

The regular prelates are the provincials of the four mendicant orders, namely, St. Dominic, St. Augustine, St. Francis, the Society of Jesus, and the discalced Augustinians.²²³ Each prelate governs his own order and visits the houses. The orders have nearly all the missions to the natives under their charge, in whatever pertains to the administration of the sacraments and conversion – by favor of, and in accordance with, their privileges and the apostolic bulls, in which until now they have maintained themselves – and in what pertains to judicial matters, as one dean, four dignitarios, five canons, four racioneros, four medio-racioneros, and other inferior helpers, including the choir, a total of twenty-six individuals; 3,330 pesos annually is to be added for sacristans, singers, and orchestra.—RIZAL.

²²² Their salary amounted to from 750 to 1,000 pesos. Now [1890] the salary of each bishop is 6,000 pesos, with two father assistants at 100 to 150 pesos per month.—RIZAL.

²²³ Thus in original, but it is carelessly worded; for the Society of Jesus is not one of the mendicant orders.

vicars of the bishops, and through appointment and authorization of the latter. The discalced Augustinians as yet have no missions, as they have but recently entered the islands.

The monasteries are supported by certain special incomes that they possess and have acquired – especially those of the Augustinians and those of the Society – and by help and concessions granted by his Majesty. The Dominicans and Franciscans do not possess or allow incomes or properties;²²⁴ and for them, as for the other orders, the principal source of revenue is in the alms, offerings, and aid given by the districts where they are established and where they have charge. This help is given by both Spaniards and natives, very piously and generously. They are aided also by the stipend given them from the encomiendas for the instruction that they give there. Consequently the religious of the orders live well and with the comfort necessary.

The first encomenderos, conquerors, and settlers of the islands, and their issue, are honorably supported by the products of their encomiendas, and by certain means of gain and trading interests that they possess, as do the rest of the people. There are a great number of them, each one of whom lives and possesses his house in the city and settlement of Spaniards in whose province he has his encomienda. This they do in order not to abandon their encomiendas, and thus they are nearer the latter for their needs and for collections.

Now but few of the first conquerors who gained the country and went there for its conquest with the

²²⁴ All of the orders held property and had regular means of revenue, later; while the Dominicans held enormous property in both the islands and at Hong Kong.—RIZAL.

adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legaspi remain alive.

The soldiers and officers of war and of naval expeditions formerly consisted of all the dwellers and inhabitants of the islands, who rendered military service without any pay or salary. They went on all the expeditions and pacifications that arose, and guarded the forts and presidios, and cities and settlements. This was their principal exercise and occupation. They were rewarded by the governor, who provided them with encomiendas, offices, and profits of the country according to their merits and services.²²⁵

At that time the soldiers of the islands were the best in the Indies. They were very skilful and well-disciplined by both land and sea, and were esteemed and respected by all those nations. They gloried in their arms, and in acquitting themselves valiantly.

Afterward, when Gomez Perez Das Mariñas entered upon the government of the Filipinas, he founded the regular camp of four hundred soldiers: the arquebusiers, with pay of six pesos per month; the musketeers, with eight pesos; six captains, with annual pay of four hundred and twenty pesos apiece; their alféreces, sergeants, corporals, standard-bearers, and drummers, with pay in proportion to their duties; one master-of-camp, with annual pay of one thousand four hundred pesos; one sargento-mayor with captain's pay; one adjutant of the sar-

²²⁵ The following law is from *Recopilación de leyes* (lib. iii, tit. x, ley xiv): "The governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands shall be careful to reward the soldiers who shall have served us there, and their sons, with the posts and emoluments at his disposal, in accordance with the ordinances, and [he shall do it] with all fairness, so that they may have some remuneration. He shall keep *in toto* the laws relating to this." Felipe III, Lerma, July 23, 1605; Madrid, December 19, 1618.

gento-mayor and field-captain, with monthly pay of ten pesos; two castellans; commandants of the two fortresses of Manila, with four hundred pesos apiece annually; their lieutenants; squads of soldiers and artillerymen; one general of galleys, with annual pay of eight hundred pesos; each galley one captain, with annual pay of three hundred pesos; their boatswains, boatswains' mates, coxswains, alguacils of the galleys, soldiers, artillerymen, master-carpenters, riggers, sailors, conscripts,²²⁶ galley-crews of Spanish, Sangley, and native convicts, condemned for crimes; and, when there is lack of convicts, good rowers are obtained from the natives for pay, for the period of the expedition and the occasion of the voyage.²²⁷

²²⁶ *Consejeles*: men sent to service by order of a municipal council.

²²⁷ The pay of various of the above officers and men in 1890 was as follows: Filipino infantrymen, 4 pesos per month; Spanish artillerymen, 13-15 pesos, plus some céntimos, per month; Filipino artillerymen, 4 pesos, plus some céntimos, per month; captains, 1,500-1,800 pesos per year; alféreces, 975-1,050 pesos per year; first sergeants, European, 318-360 pesos per year—native, 180 pesos per year; second sergeants, European, 248.06-307.50 pesos per year—native, 156 pesos per year; first corporals, European, 189.56-202 pesos per year—native, 84 pesos per year; second corporals, European, 174-192 pesos per year—native corporals, 72 pesos per year; the *segundo cabo* [lieutenant-commander], 12,000 pesos per year; sargento-mayor *de plaza* (now lieutenant-colonel), 225 pesos per month; vice-admiral [*contra-almirante, general de galeras*], 16,392 pesos per year; frigate and ship captains, 2,700-5,760 pesos per year, according to their duties and grades.—RIZAL.

The following laws from *Recopilación de leyes* regulate the pay of the soldiers and some of the officers, and impose certain restrictions on the soldiers, and provide for certain appointments: "Each soldier established in the Filipinas Islands shall be paid eight pesos per month, each captain, fifty, each alférez, twenty, and each sergeant, ten. The governor and captain-general of the said islands shall give all the men of the companies thirty ducados to each company of additional pay, as is done in other districts, providing the additional pay of each one does not exceed ten pesos per year. We order that all be well paid. When the governor shall provide

In the vessels and fleets of large vessels for the Nueva España line, the ships that are sent carry a general, admiral, masters, boatswains, commissaries, stewards, alguacils, sergeants of marine artillery [*condestables*], artillerymen, sailors, pilots and their assistants, common seamen, carpenters, calkers, and coopers, all in his Majesty's pay, on the account of Nueva España, from whose royal treasury they are paid. All that is necessary for this navigation is supplied there. Their provisions and appointments are made by the viceroy; and this has hitherto pertained to him, even though the ships may have been constructed in the Filipinas. They sail thence with their cargo of merchandise for Nueva España, and return thence to the Filipinas with the reënforcements of soldiers and supplies, and whatever else is necessary for the camp, besides passengers and reli-

any of the captains, officers, or soldiers with an encomienda, or other post, he shall not allow him to draw pay. While they draw pay they shall not be allowed to trade or traffic, so that that occupation may not divert or distract them from their proper exercise and employment of war. For the same reason, no pay shall be granted to any soldier who serves any other person, whomsoever he be." Felipe II, Añover, August 9, 1589, clause 34 of his instructions; Felipe III, Ventosilla, November 4, 1606; lib. iii, tit. x, ley xiii.

"We order that when the post of general of artillery of the Filipinas Islands becomes vacant, either by the death or promotion of its occupant, or for any other cause, the governor and captain-general shall not fill it without first notifying us and without our special order for it. We permit him to appoint a captain of artillery and a sargento-mayor, and he may assign each of them thirty pesos' pay. We approve the increase of two pesos in the pay of the musketeers. It is our will that the pay of the governor's captain of the guard be increased five pesos, in addition to his fifteen pesos, and that a like sum be granted to the commandants of forts when they have a captain of infantry." Felipe II, clause of letter, Madrid, June 11, 1594; Felipe IV, Madrid, January 30, 1631; lib. iii, tit. v, ley iii.

gious, and the money proceeding from the investments and merchandise.²²⁸

After the establishment of a regular camp for guard and expeditions, the other inhabitants, dwellers, and residents were enrolled without pay under the banners of six captains of the Filipinas, for special occasions requiring the defense of the city. But they were relieved of all other duties pertaining to the troops, unless they should offer of their own accord to go upon any expedition, or volunteer for any special occasion, in order to acquire merits and benefits, so that they may be given encomiendas that become vacant, and offices, and the means of profit of the country. They are not compelled or obliged to do this, unless they are encomenderos. Consequently all have given themselves to trading, as there is no

²²⁸ A definite law, as is shown in *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. iii. tit. iv, ley xiii, charged the viceroys of Nueva España to send help to the Philippines. The law is as follows: "We charge and order the viceroys of Nueva España to aid the governor and captain-general of Filipinas on all occasions that arise, with very special care, promptness, and diligence, with whatever the latter shall request; and with the men, arms, ammunition, and money, that he deems necessary for the conservation of those islands, salaries [the original is *sueudos*, perhaps a misprint for *suelos*, signifying 'provinces' or 'districts'], presidios, and whatever else is under his charge." Felipe III, Aranjuez, May 25, 1607.

The two following laws impose certain restrictions on the reinforcements sent to the Philippines from Nueva España:

"One of the captains who shall raise men in Nueva España as reinforcements for the Filipinas Islands, shall act as their agent to the port of Acapulco. There he shall deliver them to the general, or commander of the ships about to sail; but no captain shall take passage or go to the islands with the men of his company." Felipe III, Zamora, February 16, 1602; lib. iii, tit. iv, ley xvi.

"Among the men sent by the viceroy, who shall go as a reinforcement from Nueva España to Filipinas, he shall not allow, under any circumstances, or admit, any mestizos or mulattoes, because of the annoyances that have been experienced from them." Felipe III, Valladolid, August 30, 1608; lib. iii, tit. iv, ley xv.

other occupation, but they are not unmindful of military service.

His Majesty prohibits all who are in his pay in the military forces of the islands from engaging in commerce; and orders the governor not to allow this, or permit them to export goods to Nueva España. If the governors would observe that order, it would not be amiss.²²⁹

The merchants and business men form the bulk of the residents of the islands, because of the great amount of merchandise brought there—outside of native products—from China, Japon, Maluco, Malaca, Sian, Camboja, Borneo, and other districts. They invest in this merchandise and export it annually in the vessels that sail to Nueva España, and at times to Japon, where great profits are made from raw silk. Thence on the return to Manila are brought the proceeds, which hitherto have resulted in large and splendid profits.

Through the very great increase of this trade—which was harmful and prejudicial to the Spanish merchants who shipped goods to Peru and Nueva España, and to the royal duties collected on the shipments from España—and through the business men of Mexico and Peru having become greedy of trade and commerce with the Filipinas, by means of their agents and factors, so that the trade with España was ceasing in great measure, and the merchants were sending to the Filipinas for their investments great consignments of silver, which by that means flowed yearly from his Majesty's kingdoms, to fall into the possession of infidels: all persons of Nueva España

²²⁹ See *ante*, note 227, the citation of the law from *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. iii, tit. x, ley xiii.

and Peru were prohibited from trading and engaging in commerce in the Filipinas, and from taking the Chinese merchandise to those regions.²³⁰ Permission was given to the inhabitants and residents of the Filipinas that they alone might trade in the said merchandise, and export it. They are to take these goods themselves, or send them with persons who belong to the islands, so that they may sell them. From the proceeds of the said merchandise, they may not carry to the Filipinas more than five hundred thousand pesos each year.²³¹

A considerable number of *somas* and junks (which are large vessels) generally come from Great China to Manila, laden with merchandise. Every year thirty or even forty ships are wont to come, and although they do not come together, in the form of a trading and war fleet, still they do come in groups with the monsoon and settled weather, which is generally at the new moon in March. They belong to the provinces of Canton, Chincheo, and Ucheo

²³⁰ See VOL. XII ("Various documents relating to commerce"), pp. 57-75.

Bañuelos y Carrillo, in his relation to the king, says: "That the inhabitants of the Manilas should be allowed to export as many boat-loads as possible of the country's produce—such as wax, gold, perfumes, ivory, and cotton cloth [*lampotes*]—which they must buy from the natives of the country, who would thus be hindered from selling them to the Dutch. In this way we would make those peoples friendly, and supply Nueva España with their merchandise; and the money taken to Manila would not leave that city. . . . Your Majesty should consider that one and one-half millions in gold go to China annually." This commerce was advantageous to the Celestial empire alone and to certain individuals of Manila. It was fatal to España, and harmful to the islands, whose industry was gradually perishing like that of the metropolis.—RIZAL.

²³¹ See in VOL. VIII, pp. 316-318, a royal decree enforcing these prohibitions under severe penalties.

[Fo-Kien], and sail from those provinces. They make their voyage to the city of Manila in fifteen or twenty days, sell their merchandise, and return in good season, before the vendavals set in – the end of May and a few days of June – in order not to endanger their voyage.

These vessels come laden with merchandise, and bring wealthy merchants who own the ships, and servants and factors of other merchants who remain in China. They leave China with the permission and license of the Chinese viceroys and mandarins. The merchandise that they generally bring and sell to the Spaniards consists of raw silk in bundles, of the fineness of two strands [*dos cabeças*], and other silk of poorer quality; fine untwisted silk, white and of all colors, wound in small skeins; quantities of velvets, some plain, and some embroidered in all sorts of figures, colors, and fashions – others with body of gold, and embroidered with gold; woven stuffs and brocades, of gold and silver upon silk of various colors and patterns; quantities of gold and silver thread in skeins over thread and silk – but the glitter of all the gold and silver is false, and only on paper; damasks, satins, taffetans, *gorvaranes*, *picotes*,²³² and other cloths of all colors, some finer and better than others; a quantity of linen made from grass, called *lençesuelo* [handkerchief];²³³ and white

²³² Coarse stuff made of goat's hair, or a glossy silk stuff; probably the latter is intended in the text. *Gorvoran* or *gorgoran* is a sort of silk grogram.

²³³ This fabric is now called Piña. It is made from threads stripped from fibers of the leaf of that plant or fruit, and which are never longer than half a yard. It cannot be woven at all times, as extreme heat or humidity affects the fiber. The machinery employed is of wood, unmixed with any metal, and of rude construction. This fabric is stronger than any other of equal fineness, and

cotton cloth of different kinds and qualities, for all uses. They also bring musk, benzoin, and ivory; many bed ornaments, hangings, coverlets, and tapestries of embroidered velvet; damask and gorvaran of different shades; tablecloths, cushions, and carpets; horse-trappings of the same stuff, and embroidered with glass beads and seed-pearls; also some pearls and rubies, sapphires and crystal-stones; metal basins, copper kettles, and other copper and cast-iron pots; quantities of all sorts of nails, sheet-iron, tin and lead; saltpetre and gunpowder. They supply the Spaniards with wheat flour; preserves made of orange, peach, *scorzonera*,²³⁴ pear, nutmeg, and ginger, and other fruits of China; salt pork and other salt meats; live fowls of good breed, and very fine capons; quantities of green fruit, oranges of all kinds; excellent chestnuts, wal-

its color is unaffected by time or washing. The pieces are generally only 1½ feet wide: the price varies from 1s. 4d. to 2s. 6d. per yard. Piña of a yard wide is from six reals to a dollar (of eight reals) a yard. All the joinings of the threads are of knots made by the fingers. It is fabricated solely by native Indians in many parts of the Philippines, but especially in Ilo-Ilo. The use of this stuff is extensive, and the value is estimated at 500,000 dollars or £120,000; the value of the annual export of it to Europe for dresses, handkerchiefs, collars, scarfs, and wristbands, which are beautifully embroidered at Manila, is estimated at 20,000 dollars annually. (Mr. Consul Farren, January 21, 1851).—STANLEY.

In order to obtain the fiber of this plant, the fruit is first cut, so that the leaf may become as long and broad as possible. When the leaves are well developed they are torn off, and scraped with a sharp instrument to separate the fleshy part and leave the fiber; this is washed, dried in the sun, combed out, and classed in four grades according to its fineness. The cloth has a peculiar softness and delicacy; and it is said that that made formerly (one or two centuries ago) was much finer than that made now.

²³⁴ *Scorzonera* is a genus of composite plants, of numerous species; the leaves or roots of many are used as vegetables or salads. *S. tuberosa* and other Eastern species have edible roots.

nuts, pears, and *chicueyes*²³⁵ (both green and dried, a delicious fruit); quantities of fine thread of all kinds, needles, and knick-knacks; little boxes and writing-cases; beds, tables, chairs, and gilded benches, painted in many figures and patterns. They bring domestic buffaloes; geese that resemble swans; horses, some mules and asses; even caged birds, some of which talk, while others sing, and they make them play innumerable tricks. The Chinese furnish numberless other gewgaws and ornaments of little value and worth, which are esteemed among the Spaniards; besides a quantity of fine crockery of all kinds; *canganes*,²³⁶ *sines*, and black and blue robes; *tacley*, which are beads of all kinds; strings of cornelians, and other beads and precious stones of all colors; pepper and other spices; and rarities – which, did I refer to them all, I would never finish, nor have sufficient paper for it.

As soon as the ship reaches the mouth of the bay of Manila, the watchman stationed at the island of Miraveles goes out to it in a light vessel. Having examined the ship, he puts a guard of two or three

²³⁵ Delgado (*ut supra*) says that this fruit (*Diospyros kaki*, Linn.) was brought by the Chinese traders, and called *Xi-cu* in their language, whence is derived the word *chiquey*. It is a beautiful scarlet fruit, although there is another species of a yellow color. Both are sweet and pleasant to the taste. Some of the yellow variety were grown in the Visayas, but Delgado says the tree is not indigenous to the islands. The fruit is shaped like an acorn but is about as large as a lemon. The peel is soft and the interior like honey, and it contains several seeds. The tree is wide-spreading but not very tall. The leaves are small and almost round. *D. kaki* is the Chinese or Japanese persimmon; *D. virginiana* is the American persimmon. From other species is obtained the valuable wood called ebony.

²³⁶ This must be the cloth and not the porcelain of Kaga, which even today is so highly esteemed.—RIZAL.

soldiers on it, so that it may anchor upon the bar, near the city, and to see that no one shall disembark from the vessel, or anyone enter it from outside, until the vessel has been inspected. By the signal made with fire by the watchman from the said island, and the advice that he sends in all haste to the city – of what ship it is, whence it has come, what merchandise and people it brings – before the vessel has finished anchoring, the governor and the city generally know all about it.²³⁷

When the vessel has arrived and anchored, the royal officials go to inspect it and the register of the merchandise aboard it. At the same time the valuation of the cargo is made according to law, of what it is worth in Manila; for the vessel immediately pays three per cent on everything to his Majesty.²³⁸ After the register has been inspected and the valuation made, then the merchandise is immediately unloaded by another official into champans, and taken

²³⁷ With very slight differences, this custom and ceremony is continued to the present [1890].—RIZAL.

²³⁸ “A three per cent duty was imposed in the Filipinas on merchandise, for the payment of the troops. We order that part of the law to be observed, but that pertaining to the other things paid from those duties to be repealed.” Añover, August 9, 1589. (*Ley xxii.*)

“We ordain that the Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, Borneans, and all other foreigners, who go to the ports of the Filipinas Islands, pay no duty on food, supplies, and materials that they take to those islands, and that this law be kept in the form in which it may have been introduced, and not otherwise.” Añover, August 9, 1589. (*Ley xxiv.*)

“On the Chinese merchandise and that from other countries, shipped to Nueva España by way of Filipinas, an impost ad valorem tax of ten per cent shall be collected, based on their value in the ports and regions where the goods shall be discharged. This tax shall be imposed mildly according to the rule, and shall be a tax additional to that usually paid on departure both from the said Filipinas Islands and from the provinces of Nueva España, to any

to the Parián, or to other houses and magazines, outside of the city. There the goods are freely sold.

No Spaniard, Sangley, or other person is allowed to go to the ship to buy or trade merchandise, food, or anything else. Neither is it allowed, when the merchandise is ashore, to take it from them or buy it with force and violence; but the trade must be free, and the Sangleys can do what they like with their property.

The ordinary price of the silks (both raw and woven) and the cloths – which form the bulk of the cargo – is settled leisurely, and by persons who understand it, both on the part of the Spaniards and that of the Sangleys. The purchase price is paid in silver and reals, for the Sangleys do not want gold, or any other articles, and will not take other things to China. All the trading must be completed by the end of the month of May, or thereabout, in order that the Sangleys may return and the Spaniards have the goods ready to lade upon the vessels that go to Nueva España by the end of June. However, the larger dealers and those who have most money usually do their trading after that time, at lower rates, and keep the merchandise until the following year. Certain Sangleys remain in Manila with a portion of their merchandise for the same purpose, when they have not had a good sale for it, in order to go on selling it more leisurely. The Sangleys are very skilful

other places where they may and shall be taken." El Pardo, November 1, 1591. (Ley xxi.)

"We order that the duty of three per cent collected in the Filipinas Islands on the merchandise taken thither by the Chinese be increased by another three per cent." El Pardo, November 20, 1606. (Ley xxiii.)

The above laws are from *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. viii, tit. xv.

and intelligent traders, and of great coolness and moderation, in order to carry on their business better. They are ready to trust and accommodate freely whoever they know treats them fairly, and does not fail in his payments to them when these are due. On the other hand, as they are a people without religion or conscience, and so greedy, they commit innumerable frauds and deceits in their merchandise. The purchaser must watch them very closely, and know them, in order not to be cheated by them. The purchasers, however, acquit themselves by their poor payments and the debts that they incur; and both sides generally keep the judges and Audiencia quite busy.

Some Japanese and Portuguese merchantmen also come every year from the port of Nangasaque in Japon, at the end of October with the north winds, and at the end of March. They enter and anchor at Manila in the same way. The bulk of their cargo is excellent wheat-flour for the provisioning of Manila, and highly prized salt meats. They also bring some fine woven silk goods of mixed colors; beautiful and finely-decorated screens done in oil and gilt; all kinds of cutlery; many suits of armor, spears, catans, and other weapons, all finely wrought; writing-cases, boxes and small cases of wood, japanned and curiously marked; other pretty gewgaws; excellent fresh pears; barrels and casks of good salt tunny; cages of sweet-voiced larks, called *fimbaros*; and other trifles. In this trading, some purchases are also made, without royal duties being collected from those vessels. The bulk of the merchandise is used in the country, but some goods are exported to Nueva España. The price is generally paid in reals, al-

though they are not so greedy for them as the Chinese, for there is silver in Japon. They generally bring a quantity of it as merchandise in plates, and it is sold at moderate rates.

These vessels return to Japon at the season of the vendavals, during the months of June and July. They carry from Manila their purchases, which are composed of raw Chinese silk, gold, deerskin, and brazil-wood for their dyes. They take honey, manufactured wax, palm and Castilian wine, civet-cats, large tibors in which to store their tea, glass, cloth, and other curiosities from España.

Some Portuguese vessels sail to Manila annually during the monsoon of the vendavals, from Maluco, Malaca, and India. They take merchandise consisting of spices—cloves, cinnamon, and pepper; slaves, both blacks and Cafres; cotton cloth of all sorts, fine muslins [*caniquies*], linens, gauzes, *rambuties*, and other delicate and precious cloths; amber, and ivory; cloths edged with *pita*,²³⁹ for use as bed-covers; hangings, and rich counterpanes from Vengala [Bengal], Cochin, and other countries; many gilt articles and curiosities; jewels of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, balas-rubies, and other precious stones, both set and loose; many trinkets and ornaments from India; wine, raisins, and almonds; delicious preserves, and other fruits brought from Portugal and prepared in Goa; carpets and tapestries from Persia and Turquia, made

²³⁹ The agave (*Agave americana*; the *maguey* of Mexico) is found in the Philippines, and is called *pita*, but Delgado and Blanco think that it was not indigenous there. Its fibers were used in former times for making the native textile called *nipis*, manufactured in the Visayas. As used in the text, *pita* means, apparently, some braid or other ornament of agave fibers.

of fine silks and wools; beds, writing-cases, parlor-chairs, and other finely-gilded furniture, made in Macao; needle-work in colors and in white, of chain-lace and royal point lace, and other fancy-work of great beauty and perfection. Purchases of all the above are made in Manila, and paid in reals and gold. The vessels return in January with the brisas, which is their favorable monsoon. They carry to Maluco provisions of rice and wine, crockery-ware, and other wares needed there; while to Malaca they take only the gold or money, besides a few special trinkets and curiosities from España, and emeralds. The royal duties are not collected from these vessels.

A few smaller vessels also sail from Borneo, during the vendavals. They belong to the natives of that island, and return during the first part of the brisas. They enter the river of Manila and sell their cargoes in their vessels. These consist of fine and well-made palm-mats, a few slaves for the natives, sago—a certain food of theirs prepared from the pith of palms—and tibors; large and small jars, glazed black and very fine, which are of great service and use; and excellent camphor, which is produced on that island. Although beautiful diamonds are found on the opposite coast, they are not taken to Manila by those vessels, for the Portuguese of Malaca trade for them on that coast. These articles from Borneo are bought more largely by the natives than by the Spaniards. The articles taken back by the Borneans are provisions of wine and rice, cotton cloth, and other wares of the islands, which are wanting in Borneo.

Very seldom a few vessels sail to Manila from Sian and Camboja. They carry some benzoin, pep-

per, ivory, and cotton cloth; rubies and sapphires, badly cut and set; a few slaves; rhinoceros horns, and the hides, hoofs, and teeth of this animal; and other goods. In return they take the wares found in Manila. Their coming and return is between the brisas and the vendavals, during the months of April, May, and June.

In these classes of merchandise, and in the products of the islands – namely, gold, cotton cloth, mendiñaque, and cakes of white and yellow wax – do the Spaniards effect their purchases, investments, and exports for Nueva España. They make these as is most suitable for each person, and lade them on the vessels that are to make the voyage. They value and register these goods, for they pay into the royal treasury of Manila, before the voyage, the two per cent royal duties on exports, besides the freight charges of the vessel, which amount to forty Castilian ducados²⁴⁰ per tonelada. This latter is paid at the port of Acapulco in Nueva España, into the royal treasury of the said port, in addition to the ten per cent duties for entrance and first sale in Nueva España.²⁴¹

Inasmuch as the ships which are despatched with the said merchandise are at his Majesty's account, and other ships cannot be sent, there is generally too small a place in the cargo for all the purchases. For that reason the governor divides the cargo-room among all the shippers, according to their wealth

²⁴⁰ The ducado of Castilla was worth slightly more than two pesos.— RIZAL.

²⁴¹ These imposts and fetters, which the products of the country did not escape, are still [1890] in force, so that foreign markets must be sought, since the markets of the mother-country offer no greater advantages. According to a document of 1640, this commerce netted the government 350,000 pesos annually.— RIZAL.

and merits, after they have been examined by intelligent men, appointed for that purpose. Consequently every man knows from his share how much he can export, and only that amount is received in the vessel; and careful and exact account is taken of it. Trustworthy persons are appointed who are present at the lading; and space is left for the provisions and passengers that are to go in the vessels. When the ships are laden and ready to sail, they are delivered to the general and the officials who have them in charge. Then they start on their voyage at the end of the month of June, with the first vendavals.

This trade and commerce is so great and profitable, and easy to control—for it only lasts three months in the year, from the time of the arrival of the ships with their merchandise, until those vessels that go to Nueva España take that merchandise—that the Spaniards do not apply themselves to, or engage in, any other industry. Consequently, there is no husbandry or field-labor worthy of consideration. Neither do the Spaniards work the gold mines or placers, which are numerous. They do not engage in many other industries that they could turn to with great profit, if the Chinese trade should fail them. That trade has been very hurtful and prejudicial in this respect, as well as for the occupations and farm industries in which the natives used to engage. Now the latter are abandoning and forgetting those labors. Besides, there is the great harm and loss resulting from the immense amount of silver that passes annually by this way [of the trade], into the possession of infidels, which can never, by any way, return into the possession of the Spaniards.

His Majesty's agents for the government and jus-

tice, and the royal officials for the management of his Majesty's revenue, are as follows: First, the governor and captain-general of all the islands, who is at the same time president of the royal Audiencia of Manila. He has a salary of eight thousand pesos de minas per year for all his offices.²⁴² He possesses his own body-guard of twelve halberdiers, whose captain receives three hundred pesos per year. The governor alone provides and regulates all that pertains to war and government, with the advice of the auditors of the Audiencia in difficult matters. He tries in the first instance the criminal cases of the regular soldiers, and any appeals from his decisions go to the Audiencia.²⁴³ The governor appoints many alcaldes-mayor, corregidores, deputies, and other magistrates, throughout the islands and their provinces, for carrying on the government and justice, and for military matters. These appointments are made before a government chief scrivener appointed by his Majesty, who helps the governor.

²⁴² The salary is now [1890] 40,000 pesos.—RIZAL.

²⁴³ *Recopilación de leyes* (lib. iv, tit. i, ley v) outlines the governor's and Audiencia's power in regard to conquests by private individuals, as follows: "We grant permission to the governor and president of the Filipinas Islands and its Audiencia to make contracts for new explorations and conquests [*pacificaciones*] with persons, who are willing to covenant to do it at their own expense and not that of our royal treasury; and to give them the titles of captains and masters-of-camp, but not those of adelantados [*i.e.*, governors] and marshals. Those contracts and agreements such men may execute, with the concurrence of the Audiencia, until we approve them, provided that they observe the laws enacted for war, conquest, and exploration, so straitly, that for any negligence, the terms of their contract will be observed, and those who exceed the contract shall incur the penalties imposed; also provided the parties shall receive our confirmation within a brief period assigned by the governor." Felipe II, Guadalupe, April 1, 1580; Toledo, May 25, 1596, a clause of instructions.

The governor likewise takes part with the royal Audiencia, as its president, in whatever pertains to its duties. The Audiencia consists of four auditors and one fiscal – each of whom receives an annual salary of two thousand pesos de minas ²⁴⁴ – one reporter, one court scrivener, one alguacil-mayor, with his assistants, one governor of the prison of the court, one chancellor, one registrar, two bailiffs, one chaplain and sacristan, one executioner, attorneys, and receivers. The Audiencia tries all causes, civil and criminal, taken to it from all the provinces of its district.²⁴⁵ These include the Filipinas Islands and the mainland of China, already discovered or to be discovered. The Audiencia has the same authority as the chancillerías of Valladolid and Granada in España. At the same time, the Audiencia provides whatever is advisable for the proper and systematic management of the royal exchequer.

His Majesty's revenues in the Filipinas Islands are in charge of and their tribunal consists of three royal officials. They are appointed by his Majesty, and consist of a factor, an accountant, and a treasurer. They each receive an annual salary of five hundred and ten thousand maravedis. They have their clerk of mines, and registrars of the royal revenues, and their executive and other officials, all of whom re-

²⁴⁴ There are eight auditors now [1890], and their salary has increased to 4,700 pesos, while that of the fiscal is 5,500 pesos.—RIZAL.

²⁴⁵ *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. v, tit. xv, ley xxviii, contains the following on suits arising from residencias, dated Lerma, June 23, 1608: "Suits brought during the residencia against governors, captains-general, presidents, auditors, and fiscals of our Audiencia of Manila, and against any other officials, both civil and criminal, shall pass in appeal and be concluded in that Audiencia, if they do not exceed one thousand pesos of the current money."

side in Manila. From that city they manage and attend to everything pertaining to the royal revenues throughout the islands.

His Majesty has a number of encomiendas apportioned to his royal crown throughout the provinces of the Filipinas Islands. The tributes of those encomiendas are collected for his royal treasury by his royal officials and the collectors engaged for that purpose by the royal officials. From year to year these amount to thirty thousand pesos, after deducting costs and expenses. They collect, from one year to another, eight thousand pesos in tributes from the Sangleys – both Christians and infidels.²⁴⁶

They also collect the fifth of all gold dug in the islands. By special concession for a limited period, the tenth is collected instead of the fifth. There is a declaration concerning it, to the effect that the natives shall pay no fifths or other duties on the jewels and gold inherited by them from their ancestors before his Majesty owned the country. Sufficient measures have been taken for the clear understanding of this concession and its investigation, for that on which the tenth has once been paid, and the steps to be taken in the matter. From one year to another they collect ten thousand pesos from these fifths, for much is concealed.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ The tributes of the Indians in the Filipinas amount to more than 4,000,000 pesos now [1890]; and from the Chinese are derived 225,000 pesos.—RIZAL.

²⁴⁷ Now since there is no exploitation of gold mines, and since the Indians have no jewels that would justify this tenth or fifth, the Spaniards substitute for this the imposts upon property, which amount to 105,400 pesos, and that upon industry, which amounts to 1,433,200 pesos. In 1640, the revenue from the above source [fifths or tenths] had decreased so greatly, that only 750 pesos were collected annually.—RIZAL.

The assignment of two reals from each tributario inures to the royal treasury and is paid into it, for the pay of the soldiers and the stipend of the prebendaries. These are collected from the encomenderos, in proportion to, and on the account of, their tributes, and amount annually to thirty-four thousand pesos.

The fines and expenses of justice are committed to the care of the treasurer of the royal revenues, and are kept in the treasury. They amount annually to three thousand pesos.

The three per cent duties on the Chinese merchandise of the Sangley vessels average forty thousand pesos annually.²⁴⁸

The two per cent duties paid by the Spaniards for exporting merchandise to Nueva España amount annually to twenty thousand pesos. On the merchandise and money sent from Nueva España to the Filipinas, result eight thousand pesos more. Consequently, in these things and in other dues of less importance that belong to the royal treasury, his Majesty receives about one hundred and fifty thousand pesos, or thereabout, annually in the Filipinas.²⁴⁹

Inasmuch as this amount does not suffice for the expenses that are incurred, the royal treasury of Nueva España sends annually to that of the Filipinas, in addition to the above revenues, some assistance in money – a greater or less sum, as necessity requires. For his Majesty has thus provided for it from the proceeds of the ten per cent duties on the Chinese merchandise that are collected at the port of Aca-

²⁴⁸ Import duties now [1890] amount to 1,700,000 pesos.—RIZAL.

²⁴⁹ Export duties now [1890] amount to 285,000 pesos.—RIZAL.

pulco in Nueva España. This assistance is given into the keeping of the royal officials in Manila, and they take charge of it, with the rest of the revenues that they manage and collect.

From all this gross sum of his Majesty's revenue, the salaries of the governor and royal Audiencia are paid, as well as the stipends of prelates and ecclesiastical prebendaries, the salaries of the magistrates, and of the royal officials and their assistants; the pay of all the military officers and regular soldiers; his Majesty's share of the stipends for instruction, and the building of churches and their ornaments; the concessions and gratifications that he has allowed to certain monasteries, and private persons; the building of large vessels for the navigation to Nueva España, and of galleys and other vessels for the defense of the islands; expenses for gunpowder and ammunition; the casting of artillery, and its care; the expense arising for expeditions and individual undertakings in the islands, and in their defense; that of navigations to, and negotiations with, the kingdoms in their vicinity, which are quite common and necessary. Consequently, since his Majesty's revenues in these islands are so limited, and his expenses so great, the royal treasury falls short, and suffers poverty and need.²⁵⁰

The proceeds from the ten per cent duties and the freight charges of the ships, which are collected at Acapulco in Nueva España, on the merchandise sent

²⁵⁰ According to Hernando de los Rios, the Filipinas Islands could have been self-sustaining from the beginning from their own products, had it not been for the expeditions and adventurous conquests in the Moluccas, Camboja, etc. . . . In the governorship of Don Juan de Silva, the treasury owed, for the war in the Moluccas, more than 2,000,000 pesos to the Indians, besides what it must have owed to the inhabitants of Manila.—RIZAL.

there from the Filipinas, although considerable, are also not always sufficient for the expenses incurred in Nueva España with the ships, soldiers, ammunition, and other supplies sent annually to the Filipinas. These expenses are generally greatly in excess of those duties, and the amount is made up from the royal treasury of Mexico. Consequently, the king our sovereign derives as yet no profit from any revenues of the Filipinas, but rather an expenditure, by no means small, from his revenues in Nueva España. He sustains the Filipinas only for the christianization and conversion of the natives, and for the hopes of greater fruits in other kingdoms and provinces of Asia, which are expected through this gateway, at God's good pleasure.

Every year the Audiencia audits the accounts of the royal officials of his Majesty's revenues, strikes the balances, and sends the accounts to the tribunal of accounts in Mexico.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ This excellent custom has entirely perished.—RIZAL.

"The president of our royal Audiencia of Filipinas and one auditor of that body, shall, at the beginning of each year, examine the accounts of our royal officials, and shall finish their examination within the two months of January and February. On finishing their examination they shall send a copy of them to our council for the reason contained in the following law. Should the examination not be finished in the said time, our officials shall receive no salary. The auditor who shall assist in examining the accounts shall receive as a compensation the twenty-five thousand maravedis that are ordained; but he shall receive that amount only in that year that he shall send the said accounts concluded to our council." Ordinance 97, Toledo, May 15, 1596. (Ley ix.)

"For the accounts of our royal treasury, which must be furnished in the usual form by our officials of the Filipinas Islands annually, during the administration of their duties, the officials shall deliver for inventory all the books and orders pertaining to those accounts, and all that shall be requested from them and that shall be necessary. They shall continue the course of their administration [of their duties] with new and similar books.

In the city of Manila, and in all those Spanish settlements of the islands, reside Sangleys, who have come from Great China, besides the merchants. They have appointed settlements and are engaged in various trades, and go to the islands for their livelihood. Some possess their *pariáns* and shops. Some engage in fishing and farming among the natives, throughout the country; and go from one island to another to trade, in large or small *champanes*.²⁵²

The annual vessels from Great China bring these Sangleys in great numbers, especially to the city of Manila, for the sake of the profits that are gained from their fares. As there is a superabundance of population in China, and the wages and profits there are little, they regard as of importance whatever they get in the Filipinas.

Very great annoyances result from this; for, not only can there be little security to the country with so many infidels, but the Sangleys are a wicked and

These accounts shall be concluded before the governor of those islands, and the auditor whom the Audiencia and the fiscal of that body may appoint. In case of the finding of any doubts and remarks it is our will that the auditor and governor resolve and determine them, so that they may be concluded and finished. And inasmuch as the factor and overseer must give account of certain things in kind and products of great weight and tediousness, we order that that account be examined every three years, and that the concluding and settling of the doubts and remarks shall be made in the form declared. And we order that when the said accounts of the said islands are completed and the net balances struck, they shall be sent to our Council of the Indias, so that the accountants of its accounts may revise and make additions to them according to the manner of the accountancy." Valladolid, January 25, 1605. (Ley x.)

The above two laws are taken from *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. viii, tit. xxix.

²⁵² The Chinese engaged in agriculture and fishing now [1890] are very few.—RIZAL.

vicious race. Through intercourse and communication with them, the natives improve little in Christianity and morals. And since they come in such numbers and are so great eaters, they raise the price of provisions, and consume them.

It is true that the city could not be maintained or preserved without these Sangleys; for they are the mechanics in all trades, and are excellent workmen and work for suitable prices. But a less number of them would suffice for this, and would avoid the inconvenience of so many people as are usually in Manila when the ships arrive – to say nothing of the many Chinese who go about among the islands, under pretext of trading with the natives, and there commit innumerable crimes and offenses. At the least, they explore all the country, the rivers, creeks, and ports, and know them better than the Spaniards do; and they will be of great harm and injury in case of any revolt or hostile invasion of the islands.

In order to remedy all the above, it was ordered that the vessels should not bring so many people of this kind, under penalties that are executed; that, when the vessels return to China, they take these Sangleys back with them; that only a convenient number of merchants remain in Manila, in the Parián, and the mechanics of all necessary trades; and that these must have written license, under severe penalties. In the execution of this, an auditor of the Audiencia is engaged by special commission every year, together with some assistants. On petition of the city cabildo, he usually allows as many Sangleys to remain as are necessary for the service of all trades and occupations. The rest are embarked and compelled to return in the vessels going to China, and a

great deal of force and violence ²⁵³ is necessary to accomplish it.

Those merchants and artisans who remained in Manila before the revolt of the year six hundred and three had settled the Parián and its shops. The Parián is a large enclosed alcaicería of many streets, at some distance from the city walls. It is near the river, and its location is called San Graviel. There they have their own governor, who has his tribunal and prison, and his assistants; these administer justice to them, and watch them day and night, so that they may live in security, and not commit disorders.

Those who cannot find room in this Parián live opposite, on the other side of the river, where Tondo is, in two settlements called Baybay and Minondoc. They are in charge of the alcalde-mayor of Tondo, and under the ministry of the religious of St. Dominic, who labor for their conversion, and for that purpose have learned the Chinese language.

The Dominicans have two monasteries with the requisite assistants, and a good hospital for the treatment of Sangleys. In a district kept separate from the infidels, they have a settlement of baptized Sangleys, with their wives, households, and families, numbering five hundred inhabitants; and the religious are continually baptizing others and settling them in that village. But few of them turn out well, for they are a vile and restless race, with many vices and bad customs. Their having become Christians is not through the desire or wish for salvation, but for the temporal conveniences that they have there, and because some are unable to return to China because of debts incurred and crimes committed there.

²⁵³ The Rizal edition misprints *fuërça è premio* as *fuërza á premio*.

Each and all, both Christians and infidels, go unarmed and in their national garb. This consists of long garments with wide sleeves, made of blue *cangan* (but white for mourning, while the chief men wear them of black and colored silks) ; wide drawers of the same material ; half hose of felt ; very broad shoes, according to their fashion, made of blue silk embroidered with braid – with several soles, well-sewed – and of other stuffs. Their hair is long and very black, and they take good care of it. They do it up on the head in a high knot,²⁵⁴ under a very close-fitting hood or coif of horsehair, which reaches to the middle of the forehead. They wear above all a high round cap made of the same horsehair, in different fashions, by which their different occupations, and each man's rank, are distinguished. The Christians differ only in that they cut their hair short, and wear hats, as do the Spaniards.

They are a light-complexioned people and tall of body. They have scant beards, are very stout-limbed, and of great strength. They are excellent workmen, and skilful in all arts and trades. They are phlegmatic, of little courage, treacherous and cruel when opportunity offers, and very covetous. They are heavy eaters of all kinds of meat, fish, and fruits ; but they drink sparingly, and then of hot beverages.

They have a governor of their own race, a Christian, who has his officials and assistants. He hears their cases in affairs of justice, in their domestic and business affairs. Appeals from him go to the *alcalde-mayor* of Tondo or of the *Parián*, and from all these to the *Audiencia*, which also gives especial attention to this nation and whatever pertains to it.

²⁵⁴ The custom of shaving the head, now prevalent among the Chinese, was imposed upon them by their Tartar conquerors.

No Sangley can live or own a house outside these settlements of the Parián, and of Baybay and Minondoc. Native settlements are not allowed in Sangley settlements, or even near them. No Sangley can go among the islands, or as much as two leguas from the city, without special permission. Much less can he remain in the city at night, after the gates are shut, under penalty of death.

There are generally some Japanese, both Christian and infidel, in Manila. These are left by the vessels from Japon, although they are not so numerous as the Chinese. They have their special settlement and location outside the city, between the Sangley Parián and the suburb of Laguio, near the monastery of La Candelaria. There they are directed by dis-calced religious of St. Francis, by means of interpreters whom the fathers keep for that purpose. They are a spirited race, of good disposition, and brave. They wear their own costume, namely, kimonos of colored silks and cotton, reaching half way down the leg, and open in front; wide, short drawers; close-fitting half-boots of leather,²⁵⁵ and shoes like sandals, with the soles of well-woven straw. They go bare-headed, and shave the top of the head as far back as the crown. Their back hair is long, and fastened upon the skull in a graceful knot. They carry their catans, large and small, in the belt. They have scant beards, and are a race of noble bearing and behavior. They employ many ceremonies and courtesies, and attach much importance to honor and social standing. They are resolute in any necessity or danger.

Those who become Christians prove very good, and are very devout and observant in their religion;

²⁵⁵ A kind of stocking called *tabi*.—RIZAL.

for only the desire for salvation incites them to adopt our religion, so that there are many Christians in Japon. Accordingly they return freely, and without opposition, to their own country. At most there are about five hundred Japanese of this nation in Manila, for they do not go to other parts of the islands, and such is their disposition that they return to Japon, and do not tarry in the islands; consequently very few of them usually remain in the islands. They are treated very cordially, as they are a race that demand good treatment, and it is advisable to do so for the friendly relations between the islands and Japon.²⁵⁶

Few people come from the other nations – Sian, Camboja, Borneo, Patan, and other islands – outside our government; and they immediately return in their vessels. Consequently, there is nothing special to be said of them, except that care is exercised in receiving and despatching them well, and seeing that they return quickly to their own countries.

Since I have told, in the short time at my disposal, the characteristics of the Filipinas Islands, and their customs and practices, it will not be inappropriate to discuss the navigation to them since it is made thither from Nueva España; the return voyage, which is not short, or without great dangers and hardships; and that made in the eastern direction.

When the islands were conquered in the year of

²⁵⁶ The following law was issued at Segovia July 4, 1609, and appears in *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. iii, tit. iv, ley xviii: "The governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands shall ever strive to maintain friendly relations, peace, and quiet, with the emperor of Japon. He shall avail himself, for that purpose, of the most prudent and advisable means, as long as conditions permit; and he shall not risk the reputation of our arms and state in those seas and among oriental nations."

one thousand five hundred and seventy-four [*sic; sc.* 1564], the Spanish fleet sailed under command of the adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, from Puerto de la Navidad ²⁵⁷ situated in the South Sea, on the coast of Nueva España, in the province and district of Xalisco and Galicia, where resides the royal Audiencia of Guadalajara. A few later voyages were made also from the same port, until the point for the sending of these vessels was removed, for better and greater convenience, to the port of Acapulco, located farther south on the same coast, in sixteen and one-half degrees of latitude; it is eighty leguas from Mexico, and in its district. It is an excellent port, sheltered from all weather; and has a good entrance and good anchorages. Its vicinity is advantageous, being better provisioned and more populous than that of La Navidad. There a large Spanish colony has been established, with its alcalde-mayor, and royal officials who have charge of his Majesty's treasury; and these attend to the despatch of the vessels.

The vessels that sail to the Filipinas, as they are despatched annually on his Majesty's account, must necessarily leave in the certain season of the brisas, which begin in the month of November and last until the end of March. This navigation should not be made at any other season, for from June the vendavals blow, and they are contrary to the voyage.

As a rule, these ships sail and are despatched at the end of February, or at the latest by the twentieth of March. They sail west toward the islands of

²⁵⁷ This port (established before 1540) was in Colima, Mexico, near the present Manzanillo. It was plundered and burned by the English adventurer Thomas Candish, on August 24-25, 1587.

Las Velas,²⁵⁸ otherwise called the Ladrones. The island of Guan, one of them, lies in thirteen degrees of latitude. Inasmuch as the vessels on leaving Acapulco are wont sometimes to encounter calms, they sail south from sixteen and one-half degrees, in which the port is situated, until they strike the brisas, which is generally at ten or eleven degrees. By this route they sail continually before the wind, and without changing the sails, with fresh and fair brisas, and in other moderate weather, for one thousand eight hundred leguas, without sighting any mainland or island. Then leaving to the south the Barbudos and other islands, and advancing gradually to a latitude of thirteen degrees, they sail until they sight the island of Guan; and above it, in fourteen degrees, that of La Carpana [Seypan]. This voyage to those Ladrones Islands lasts generally seventy days.

The natives of those islands, who go naked, and are a very robust and barbarous race, go out to sea to meet the ships as soon as they discover them, at a distance of four to six leguas, with many vessels; these are one-masted, and are very slender and light. These vessels have a counterpoise of bamboo to leeward, and their sails are made of palm-leaves and are lateen-sails. Two or three men go in each one with oars and paddles. They carry loads of flying-fish, dorados,²⁵⁹ cocoa-nuts, bananas, sweet potatoes, bamboos full of water, and certain mats; and when they reach the ships, they trade these for iron from

²⁵⁸ Thus named because seamen and voyagers noticed especially the lateen sails of the light vessels used by the natives of the Marianas.—RIZAL.

²⁵⁹ A marine fish (*Sparus auratus*), thus named because it has spots of golden-yellow color.

the hoops of casks, and bundles of nails, which they use in their industries, and in the building of their ships. Since some Spaniards and religious have lived among them, because of Spanish ships being wrecked or obliged to take refuge there, they come more freely to our ships and enter them.

Our ships sail between the two islands of Guan and Carpana toward the Filipinas and the cape of Espiritu Santo, a distance of three hundred leguas farther on, in the latitude of about thirteen degrees. This distance is made in ten or twelve days with the brisas; but it may happen, if the ships sail somewhat late, that they encounter vendavals, which endanger their navigation, and they enter the islands after great trouble and stormy weather.

From the cape of Espiritu Santo, the ships enter the strait of Capul at the islands of Mazbate and Burias; thence they sail to Marinduque and the coast of Calilaya, the strait of Mindoro, the shoals of Tuley, and the mouth of Manila Bay. Thence, they go to the port of Cabit. This is a voyage of one hundred leguas from the entrance to the islands and is made in one week. This is the end of the voyage, which is good and generally without storms, if made in the proper time.

These vessels now make the return voyage from the Filipinas to Nueva España with great difficulty and danger, for the course is a long one and there are many storms and various temperatures. The ships depart, on this account, very well supplied with provisions, and suitably equipped. Each one sails alone, hoisting as much sail as possible, and one does not wait for the other, nor do they sight one another during the voyage.

They leave the bay and port of Cabit at the first setting-in of the vendavals, between the same islands and by the same straits, by the twentieth of June and later. As they set out amid showers, and are among islands, they sail with difficulty until they leave the channel at Capul. Once in the open sea, they catch the vendaval, and voyage east, making more progress when they reach the latitude of fourteen or fifteen degrees.

Then the brisa starts. This wind is the ordinary one in the South Sea, especially in low latitudes. Since it is a head wind, the course is changed, and the bow is pointed between the north and east, as much as the wind will allow. With this they reach a higher latitude, and the ship is kept in this course until the vendaval returns. Then, by means of it, the ship again takes an eastern course in that latitude where it happens to be, and keeps that direction as long as that wind lasts. When the vendaval dies, the ship takes the best course that the winds allow, by the winds then blowing between north and east. If the wind is so contrary that it is north or northwest, so that the ship cannot take that course, the other course is taken so that they may continue to maintain their voyage without losing time. At four hundred leguas from the islands they sight certain volcanoes and ridges of the islands of Ladrones, which run north as far as twenty-four degrees.²⁶⁰ Among these they generally encounter severe storms and whirl-

²⁶⁰ A chart of the Indian Ocean, by L. S. de la Rochette (pub. London, 1803, by W. Faden, geographer to the king) shows three volcanoes in about 25° north latitude, and but a few degrees north of the Ladrones. One of them is called "La Desconocida, or Third Volcano," and the following is added: "The Manilla ships always try to make this Volcano."

winds. At thirty-four degrees is the cape of Sestos,²⁶¹ at the northern head of Japon, six hundred leguas from the Filipinas. They sail among other islands, which are rarely seen, in thirty-eight degrees, encountering the same dangers and storms, and in a cold climate, in the neighborhood of the islands Rica de Oro ["rich in gold"] and Rica de Plata ["rich in silver"], which are but seldom seen.²⁶² After passing them the sea and open expanse of water is immense, and the ship can run free in any weather. This gulf is traversed for many leguas with such winds as are encountered, until a latitude of forty-two degrees is reached, toward the coast of Nueva España. They seek the winds that generally prevail at so high a latitude, which are usually northwest. After a long voyage the coast of Nueva España is sighted, and from Cape Mendocino (which lies in forty-two and one-half degrees) the coast extends nine hundred leguas to the port of Acapulco, which lies in sixteen and one-half degrees.

When the ships near the coast, which they generally sight between forty and thirty-six degrees, the cold is very severe, and the people suffer and die. Three hundred leguas before reaching land, signs of it are seen, by certain *aguas malas*,²⁶³ as large as the

²⁶¹ A group of islands called Shidsi To, lying in 34° 20'.—RIZAL.

²⁶² "Thirty-eight degrees" is probably an error for "twenty-eight degrees," and these islands [the first ones mentioned in the above sentence] would be the Mounin-Sima Islands, lying between 26° 35' and 27° 45'; and Lot's Wife in 29° 51', and Crespo, in 32° 46', which [latter] are supposed by the *Univers Pittoresque* to be the Roca de Oro [rock of gold] and the Roca de Plata of the ancient maps.—STANLEY.

For these latter islands, see VOL. XIV, p. 272, note 45.

²⁶³ A fungous substance that grows in the sea, and contains signs of life.

hand, round and violet colored, with a crest in the middle like a lateen sail, which are called *caravelas* ["caravels"]. This sign lasts until the ship is one hundred leguas from land; and then are discovered certain fish, with half the body in the form of a dog;²⁶⁴ these frolic with one another near the ship. After these *perrillos* ["little dogs"] are seen the *porras* ["knobsticks"], which are certain very long, hollow shoots of a yellow herb with a ball at the top, and which float on the water. At thirty leguas from the coast are seen many great bunches of grass which are carried down to the sea by the great rivers of the country. These grasses are called *balsas* ["rafts or floats"]. Also many *perrillos* are seen, and, in turn, all the various signs. Then the coast is discovered, and it is very high and clear land. Without losing sight of land, the ship coasts along it with the northwest, north-northwest, and north winds, which generally prevail on that coast, blowing by day toward the land, and by night toward the sea again. With the decrease of the latitude and the entrance into a warm climate the island of Cenizas [ashes] is seen, and afterward that of Cedros [cedars]. Thence one sails until the cape of San Lucas is sighted, which is the entrance of [the gulf of] California. From that one traverses the eighty leguas intervening to the islands of Las Marias and the cape of Corrientes ["currents"], which is on the other side of California in Val de Vandas ["valley of banners"], and the provinces of Chamtla. Thence one passes the coast of Colima, Sacatul, Los Motines ["the mutinies"], and Ciguatanejo, and enters the port of Acapulco—without having

²⁶⁴ Probably the dogfish, a species of shark.

made a way-station or touched land from the channel of Capul in the Filipinas throughout the voyage. The voyage usually lasts five months or thereabout, but often six and even more.²⁶⁵

By way of India, one may sail from the Filipinas to España, by making the voyage to Malaca, and thence to Cochin and Goa, a distance of one thousand two hundred leguas. This voyage must be made with the brisas. From Goa one sails by way of India to the cape of Buena Esperança [Good Hope], and to the Terceras [*i.e.*, Azores] Islands, and thence to Portugal and the port of Lisboa. This is a very long and dangerous voyage, as is experienced by the Portuguese who make it every year. From India they usually send letters and despatches to España by way of the Bermejo ["Red"] Sea, by means of Indians. These send them through Arabia to Alexandria, and thence by sea to Venecia [Venice] and thence to España.

A galleon bound for Portugal sails and is despatched from the fort of Malaca, in certain years, by the open sea, without touching at India or on its coasts. It reaches Lisboa much more quickly than do the Goa vessels. It generally sails on the fifth of January, and does not leave later than that; nor

²⁶⁵ Most of these places can be identified on the old maps of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and most of the names are retained today. The island of Cedros is shown on a map of 1556 (Ramusio: *Vniversale della parte del mondo nuovamente ritrovata*). The island of Cenizas is shown, on the old maps, in about 32°, and Cedros in about 29°. The Marias or Tres Marias Islands are Maria Madre, Maria Magdalena, and Maria Cleofas. Cape Corrientes is south of La Valle de Banderas and Chametla. Socatul is called Socatula and Zocatula. An English map of 1626, engraved by Abraham Goos, shows the town of Ciguatlan, north of Aquapulco, which may be the same as Morga's Ciguatanejo. Los Motines cannot be identified.

does it usually anticipate that date. However, not any of these voyages are practiced by the Castilians – who are prohibited from making them – except the one made by way of Nueva España, both going and coming, as above described. And although the effort has been made, no better or shorter course has been found by way of the South Sea.²⁶⁶

Laus Deo

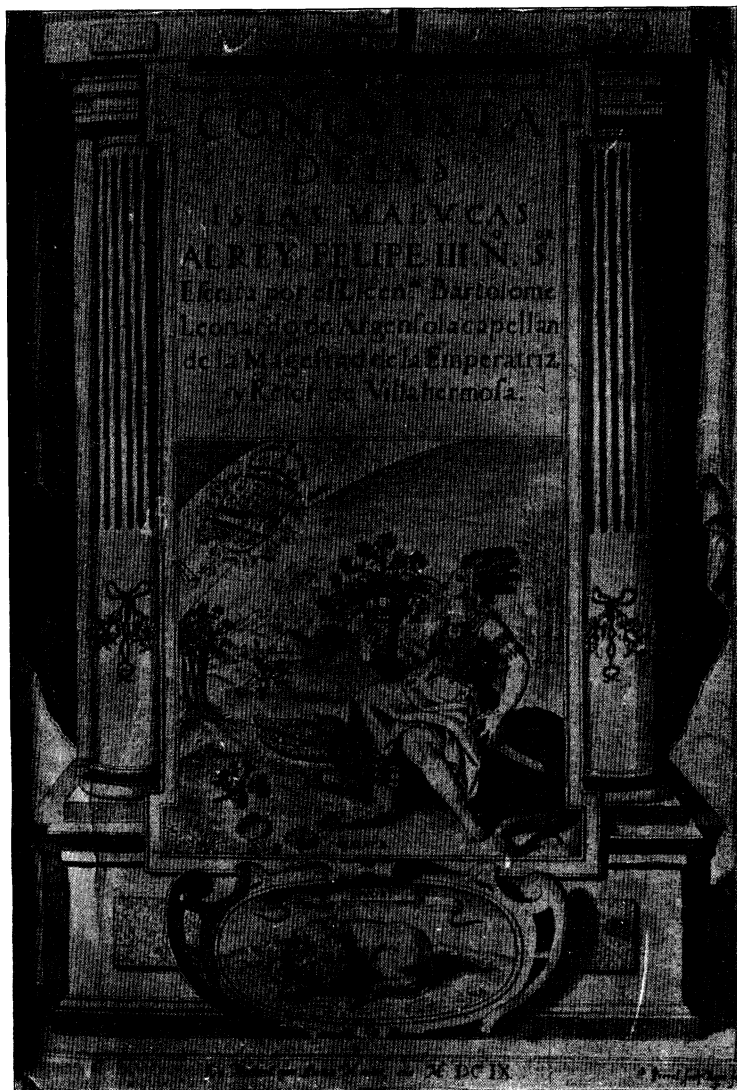
²⁶⁶ Acosta in his *History of the Indies* (Hakluyt Soc. edition, London, 1880) says of the courses between the Philippines and New Spain: "The like discourse is of the Navigation made into the South sea, going from New Spaine or Peru to the Philippines or China, and returning from the Philippines or China to New Spaine, the which is easie, for that they saile alwaies from East to West neere the line, where they finde the Easterly windes to blow in their poope. In the yeere 1584, there went a shippe from Callao in Lima to the Philippines, which sailed 2000 and 700 leagues without sight of land, and the first it discovered was the Iland of Lusson, where they tooke port, having performed their voiage in two moneths, without want of winde or any torment, and their course was almost continually vnder the line; . . . The returne is like vnto the voiage from the Indies vnto Spaine, for those which returne from the Philippines or China to Mexico, to the end they may recover the Westernne windes, they mount a great height, vntill they come right against the Ilands of Iappon, and, discovering the Caliphornes, they returne by the coast of New Spaine to the port of Acapulco."

CONQVISTA DE LAS ISLAS MALVCAS

By the licentiate Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola.
Madrid; [published] by Alonso Martin, in the
year M. DC. IX.

SOURCE: This is translated and synopsized from the original printed work, for which purpose have been used the copies belonging to Harvard University and to Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago.

TRANSLATION: This document is translated and synopsized by James A. Robertson.



CONQUEST
OF THE
MALUCAS ISLANDS.
DEDICATED TO KING FELIPE III,
OUR SOVEREIGN.

Written by Licentiate Bartolome
Leonardo de Argensola, chaplain
of her Majesty the Empress, and
Rector of Villahermosa.

Madrid. Printed by Alonso Martin M DC IX.

CONQUEST OF THE MALUCAS ISLANDS

[The usual licenses and preliminary matter precede Argensola's²⁸⁷ history. The license of the king permitting the author, and no other, to have the book printed and sold for the following ten years, bears date "Madrid, January twenty-four, one thousand six hundred and nine." The license and approbation of the ordinary, Doctor Cetina, dated "Madrid, December 30, 1608," certifies that the history contains nothing against the Catholic faith. Pedro de Valencia, royal chronicler, under date of "Madrid, January 14, 1609," approves the work as deserving publicity. Licentiate Murcia de la Llana, after comparing a single printed copy with the original manuscript, appends a list of errata, with certification that,

²⁸⁷ Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola was born in 1566 of a family of Italian origin, being the second son. Taking orders, he became rector of Villahermosa in 1588, and chaplain to María of Austria, the queen, in 1598. After the latter's death he was commissioned by the Conde de Lemos, president of the Council of the Indias, to write a history of the conquest of the Moluccas. He later spent some time in the kingdom of Naples, and about 1618 was made historian of Aragon. He died at Zaragoza in 1631. In addition to the present history, which is noted for its excellent literary style, he wrote *Primera parte de los anales de Aragon* (Zaragoza, 1630) the continuation of the *Anales* of Zurita. He was also a poet, whose poems are remarkable for their purity of style and loftiness of sentiment; they are published, with those of his elder brother, under the title *Rimas de Lupercio i del doctor Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola* (Zaragoza, 1634). One of the chief poems is an ode in honor of the church after the battle of Lepanto.

with these, the book corresponds to the original. This bears date "Madrid, May 4, 1609." Pedro Zapata del Marmol, at "Madrid, May seven, one thousand six hundred and nine," appraises the book and orders that it be sold at four maravedis per pliego or fold, thus making the price of the book, since it contains one hundred and six pliegos, twelve reals, sixteen maravedis. In his dedication, dated "Madrid, May 4, 1609," Argensola requests the king to read his book, as it "contains victories of the Church." The author's brother, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, secretary of the empress, chief chronicler of the king in Aragon, writes a letter "to the readers," in which he meets their arguments or supposed arguments, and defends the title and contents of the book, the method of treatment, the style, and its *raison d'être*.

The work contains ten books, the first four of which consist almost entirely of matters extraneous to the Philippines, such as Maluco matters, the history of Pedro Sarmiento's expedition through the Strait of Magellan in search of Drake, etc. The last six books contain more Philippine matter, and while Argensola cannot always be credited with the same reliability as Morga, he often supplements the latter. His introduction in the first book reads as follows:]²⁶⁸

I write of the reduction of the Malucas Islands to the obedience of Felipe III, king of España, and the reduction of their kings to their former vassalage, which their predecessors rendered, and which was introduced anew by Don Pedro de Acuña, governor of the Filipinas and general of the Spanish fleet.

²⁶⁸ The original book contains numerous side notes indicative of the subject matter of the text. We omit such notes in our translated extracts.

That was a victory worthy the foresight of so pious a monarch, of the care of the dignified ministers of his supreme council, and of the valor of our nation: not so greatly because of the rare fertility of those provinces, as because by it was taken from the northern fleets one great compelling motive for sailing our seas, so that they should not infect the purity of the new faith of the Asiatic Indians, and the inhabitants of our colonies who trade with them, with heresy. The short time in which the undertaking was completed does not detract from its praise; on the contrary, it can, by that very fact, occupy a worthy place among more copious narratives. Well do I see the dangers to which I expose myself, but I am also confident that I shall not find a defense wanting. Illustrious sculptors or painters are wont to esteem highly the heads, arms, and other members, that are copied perfectly from living bodies, in imitation of which they form all the parts, when they wish to make any figure. Those ignorant of art despise that preparation, and only enjoy the statue or picture, which is composed of all its members, and do not examine the imperfections that they may possess. My present relation of the recovery of those kingdoms will be judged by this esteem and by this contempt. For the wise, who know how history is formed, will esteem this part drawn from life. Others who read, as they confess, only to pass the time, will value it but little – preferring some highly fabulous monstrosities, or a prolix book, which, under the name of history, contains a marvelous number of people, and their deaths; and which gives events, not as God disposed them, but as they desire them. Hence it happens that many things worth knowing

remain hidden, for, since they are deferred for general histories, they are contemporaneously written but meagerly, by those concerned in them; and when their manuscripts are wanted, they are not to be found, or else bind the writer to the laws imposed on him by those who wished to leave that memorial through their self-love or any other passion, and he can make no examination of their truth. Consequently to free a success so important as that of Ternate, the capital of all Maluco, from this danger, I was ordered to write it, during the lifetime of those who engaged in it either actively, or through counsel. I am so fully informed of what is needful to write this history, that I hope to supply my want of ability by the truth. Of this alone have I deemed it fitting to advise the reader, and not of the advantage that will be derived from a perusal of this relation. For if the reader desire my relation, any advice on my part will be superfluous; and otherwise, even though such advice guide him rightly, it will be impossible to achieve anything thereby.

[The first four books treat somewhat briefly of the legendary history and the European discovery of the the Malucos; their importance in trade, by reason of their spices, and other resources; their inhabitants; the early Portuguese domination and cruelties, and the consequent risings and rebellions of the natives; the civil wars between Ternate and Tidore; and the accession of Felipe II to the Portuguese crown. The following extracts and abstracts are made from various parts of these four books:]

The eastern archipelago embraces so many islands, that even yet we do not know their exact number. Modern writers make five divisions of

this archipelago, which are themselves a like number of archipelagos – namely, Maluco, Moro, Papuas, Celebes, and Amboyno. The name of the first in that language is Moloc, and means the same as “capital,” for it is the capital of all the adjacent parts; and, according to others, Maluco, which signifies in Arabic, as *par excellence*, “the kingdom.” It is reduced to five chief islands, all under one meridian, all in sight of one another, and lying within a distance of twenty-five leguas. They lie across the equator, their most northern latitude being one-half degree, and their most southern one degree. They are bounded on the west by the island of Xilòlo, called Batochina de Moro by the Portuguese, and Alemaera by the Malucos. Of the many islands round about, which are also called Malucas, . . . the following are remarkable for the abundance of their spice, namely – beginning at the north – Ternate, Tydore, Motiel, Maquien, and Bacham. In the time of their former pagans they were called Cape, Duco, Moutil, Mara, and Seque. . . . The inhabitants differ from one another, as it were, by the miraculous kindness of nature. The women are light-complexioned and beautiful, while the men have a complexion somewhat darker than a quince. The hair is smooth, and many anoint it with fragrant oils. They have large eyes and long eyelashes, which, with their eyebrows, they wear blackened. Their bodies are robust, and they are much given to war, but to all other employment they are slothful. They live long, grow gray early, and are always active, on sea no less than on land. Hospitable and kind to guests, they are importunate and insistent in their demands when they become familiar. They are full

of self-interest in their dealings, and make use of tricks, frauds, and lies. They are poor, and consequently proud; and, to name many vices in one, they are ungrateful. The Chinese occupied all these islands when they subjugated all that orient, then the Javanese and Malays, and lastly the Persians and Arabs. These last, by means of commerce, introduced the superstitions of Mahomet among the worship of their gods (of whom some families boasted as ancestors). Their laws are barbarous. They set no limit to their marriages. The chief wife of the king, called *putriz* in their language, determines nobility and the right to the succession – to which her children are preferred, even when they are younger than the children of other mothers. Not even the slightest theft is pardoned, but adultery is easily excused. At daybreak, those appointed for this duty sound (by law) large timbrels in the streets of the settlements, in order to awaken married people, whom, on account of human propagation, they judge worthy of political care. The majority of crimes are punished by death. In other things they obey the tyranny or will of the conqueror. The headdress of the men consists of colored Turkish turbans, with many feathers in them. That of the king, which corresponds to a crown, has the form of a miter in its peak. The remainder of the clothing universally consists of jackets which they call *cheninas*, and trousers of blue, crimson, green, or violet damask. Of the same material are their cloaks, which are short and military, and fastened diagonally or knotted on the shoulder, after the fashion of the ancient Roman garments, as known to us by the writings, statues, and other traces of those times. The women show off their hair, now

letting it hang, and again knotting it upon the head, and placing various kinds of flowers in the bands that hold it; so that, in the adjustment of their headdress, they are not embarrassed by veils, plumage, or feathers. All that variety, even without art, adorns them. They wear bracelets, earrings, and necklaces of diamonds and rubies, and long strings of pearls — ornaments that are not prohibited to the common people; as neither are silks, which are especially worn by the women after the fashion of Persians and Turks. These are all the wealth of the seas and surrounding lands. Men and women betoken in their dress the natural haughtiness of their disposition. The variety of their languages is not little. It may happen that one village cannot understand the language of the next. Malay, being most easy to pronounce, is most common. From the variety of languages it is inferred that these islands have been populated by different nations. Antiquity, and the art of navigating in those districts, is ascribed to the Chinese. Others affirm that the Malucos are descended from the Javanese, who, attracted by the sweetness of the odors wafted by the spices, stopped at Maluco. They took a cargo of cloves, which until then were unknown, and, continuing to trade in these, carried them in their vessels to the Persian and Arabian straits. They went throughout those provinces, carrying also silks, and chinaware — products of the resources and skill of the Chinese. The cloves, by means of the Persians and Arabs, came to the Greeks and Romans. Several Roman emperors tried to conquer the east, in order to find the spice regions, so much did they desire the spice. Believing that they all came from China, they gave them Chinese names.

The Spaniards formerly brought the spices with other merchandise from the Bermejo [*i.e.*, Red] or Eri-threan Sea. The kings of Egypt once gained possession of the spices, and they reached Europe by way of the Asiatics. When the Romans made Egypt one of their provinces, they continued the trade. The Genoese, much later, transferring the commerce to Theodosia (now Caffa) distributed the spices, and there Venecia and other trading nations established their agents and factories. They sailed later by way of the Caspian Sea and Trapisonda; but the trade fell with the empire, and the Turks carried this merchandise in caravans of camels and dromedaries to Barcito, Lepo, and Damasco, and to various Mediterranean ports.²⁶⁹ The sultans of Cayro restored this trade to the Bermejo Sea, and to Alexandria by the Nilo [*i.e.*, Nile] River. The Portuguese deprived the sultans of it, after their conquest of the Eastern Indias, and now they bring the spices by way of the cape of Buena Esperança in their fleets; while with those that sail along the coasts of Arabia and Persia, and to the cape of Guardafun, they prohibit drugs being taken to Cayro, sinking or capturing the vessel that tries to do so. The sultan's trade was suppressed by this fear and the security that was introduced, and all the spices come on the account of the royal crown to India, with innumerable delays, until they reach Lisboa. He who is master of the navigation will be master of this pleasing wealth. .

²⁶⁹ The above places are identified as follows: Caffa is the modern Kaffa or Theodosia, a Russian seaport on the Black Sea; Trapisonda is either the city or district of Trebizond or Tarabozan (called by the Turks Tarabesoon, and formerly Traplezus); Barcito (misprint for Bareito?), Lepo, and Damasco, are Beirut, Aleppo, and Damascus respectively.

[Mindanao – which, as appears from an allusion by Argensola, was not always considered a portion of the Philippines proper – is visited by one of the early Portuguese conquerors, Captain Pinto, being sent there by Tristan de Atayde “and to the neighboring islands, to provide themselves with the necessities of life.” There “he visited the king, by whom he was courteously received; and after his credentials were examined, and consultation over his requests was held with the Sangages²⁷⁰ of the king’s council, peace and friendship were made. Pinto sold his merchandise at whatever price he wished, and traded for and bought a cargo of provisions at will.” (Book ii, pp. 49-50.) The desire for cloves²⁷¹ on the part of the Portuguese is so strong in the Malucos that the natives determine to burn their trees, although “the clove harvest forms the wealth of the Maluco kings,” in order to cause them to leave. Although the threat is not carried out, wars prevail constantly between natives and conquerors. The contests become so vindictive and troublesome that they lead to arguments for abandoning the Philippines after Felipe II’s accession to the throne. The passages relating to this are as follows:]

The apprehensions of this danger had made the ministers of all those provinces anxious, for their fears were being confirmed by proofs of manifest rebellion. In Goa, Diego Lopez de Mezquita was already a prisoner in the fortress of Benastirim, and under a strong guard, and the viceroy was awaiting

²⁷⁰ Argensola defines this title, which he also spells *sangaje*, as equivalent to “count” or “duke,” and says that it may be derived from *senchaq*, a Turkish word meaning “captain.”

²⁷¹ Argensola gives a description of the clove in book ii, pp. 52-54 of his work.

the decision from España to dispose of him and of the soldiers; for they feared lest the Ternatans would make use of the great help that could be sent them by the Chinese; which could be sent much more easily if the matters then being discussed in Castilla were made certain. It was reported that the Council of State—having noted that the Filipinas not only did not augment the royal incomes, but were even lessening them, and were the occasion for fruitless expense; and that they were so numerous and so difficult of conservation—had proposed to King Filipino, our sovereign, to abandon them, and withdraw the Audiencia and presidios that sustained them. They added to this argument the example of the Chinese kings and nations, who also had abandoned those islands—although they are so near and can aid them so easily, that the islands may be reckoned as a part of their mainland. They said that as España was governing them, signal detriment was being received, and there were no hopes that any betterment would be obtained in future; for the amount of silver passing thither from Nueva España, both for regular expenses and for merchandise, was immense. For the same reason, and by the same road, that treasure was being sent by the hands of the Chinese to the center of those kingdoms, which, intractable by the severity of their laws, are debarred by those laws, as by arms and fortifications, from all trade with foreigners. They asserted that the monarchy, scattered and divided by so many seas, and climes, could scarcely be reduced to one whole; and that human foresight could not bind, by means of ability, provinces separated by nature with so distant boundaries. These arguments, they said, were

born not of the mind, but of experience, a truth manifest to the senses. All other arguments that could be adduced against this reasoning they declared to be honorable and full of generous sound, but difficult of execution. It would be more advisable to increase the power of the king in Europe, where the forces could attend to emergencies without the casualties that militate against them in outside seas and dominions. Each one of these arguments was enforced so minutely by the ministers of the treasury that this proposition merited consideration and examination. Had God permitted the king to exclude the Filipinas from his monarchy, and leave them exposed to the power of whomsoever should seize them first, the Malucans would have so strengthened the condition of their affairs that it would have been impregnable.

This same resolution has been communicated on other occasions, and in the reign of King Filipo Third, now reigning. He, conforming to his father's reply, has ever refused to accept counsel so injurious. Consequently, that most prudent monarch answered that the Filipinas would be conserved in their present condition, and that the Audiencia would be granted sufficient authority so that justice could be more thoroughly administered; for in the completeness and rigor of justice the king based the duration and energy of the state. For the same reason, the military force there would be strengthened, and the royal incomes of Nueva España, or those of any other of his kingdoms, would be expended for that purpose, for all the treasures, and those still to be discovered in the bosom of the mines, must be applied to the propagation of the gospel. For what,

he asked, would the enemies of the gospel say, if they should see that the Filipinas were deprived of the light, and of the ministers who preach it, because they did not produce metals and wealth as did other rich islands in Assia and America? He said that the entire power of the sovereigns must minister to this superior end, as sons of the Church and assistants of the apostolic voice, which is being continued in the successes of the first preaching. If he had refused to yield one jot in his severity to his northern vassals,²⁷² or to grant them liberty for their consciences, why should he relent toward the pagans and Mahometans, who are the harvest that God has assigned him, in order to enrich the Church with those so remote children? By this wise he enjoined silence on the discussion, and with this glorious aim the decision has ever been made when zeal or human convenience has discussed the abandonment of those states. . . . This religious motive influenced Felipo; but, besides it, those who had experience of those Asiatic sources of wealth urged others. The most abundant wealth consists of diamonds, rubies, large and seed pearls, amber, musk, civet, and camphor, from Borneo and China; vermillion, coral, quicksilver, copper, and white cloth, from Cambaya and Mengala; rugs, carpets, fine counterpanes, camlets, from Persia; brocades, ivory, rhubarb, cardamoms, cassia,²⁷³ incense, benzoin, wax, china, lac for medicine and dyes, cloves, and mace, from Banda; with gold, silver, and pearls, medicinal

²⁷² The Dutch.

²⁷³ *Cañafistulo*: referring to the drug known as senna, which is obtained from the leaves of several species of *Cassia*. According to Retana (Zúñiga's *Estadismo*, ii, p. 454*) the Bisayan name for this plant is *ibabao* (the ancient name of Samar Island).

woods, aloes, eagle-wood, calambuco,²⁷⁴ ebony, and innumerable other rare plants, drugs, spices, and ornaments. They say that Venecia lost all this when the commerce passed to Portugal²⁷⁵ (Book ii, pp. 84-86). . . .

[While the war between the Portuguese and the natives is at its height, a galleon passes which is later found to have been neither Spanish nor Portuguese, as the natives fear, "but a ship of Venetians, private persons, on its way from Manila to China, with various bartered merchandise of those states and of the east" (Book ii, p. 89).

A native envoy visits Felipe II in Lisbon, but fails to accomplish much. The later wars between Portuguese and Spaniards and natives are characterized by assistance for the latter from English and Dutch sources. King Felipe "especially to recover Ternate," turns "his eyes to the convenience afforded by all the Filipinas, to a greater extent than India." Later he orders by "his royal decree" that "all the governors of the Filipinas should be instructed to aid the Malucas, and all the Indian states of the Portuguese crown; for this may be done more con-

²⁷⁴ "Eagle" (Latin, *aquila*) is here a corruption of the Malay name *agila*, referring to the fragrant, resinous wood of a tree (*Aquilaria agallocha*) used for many centuries by Asiatic peoples, especially the Chinese, for incense; it is also called "Kalambak" and "aloes-wood." Calambuco is another species of this genus, its wood little fragrant, but used in cabinet work (*Century Dictionary*).

²⁷⁵ The wealth and prosperity of the republic of Venice were largely due to its preëminence in the Oriental trade, carried on by the overland route through Asia, in caravans. By the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope the Portuguese opened the sea-route to India, by which the products of the East were carried to Europe more cheaply and in greater abundance; and the decline of Venetian prestige and wealth rapidly followed (in the sixteenth century).

veniently from those islands than from India itself" (Book iv, p. 140). Argensola recurring again to the proposition of abandoning the Philippines and other islands, says:]

The reader should also consider, that although avarice is sometimes mixed up in the ministry of the preaching of the gospel, and lawless acts are committed by our captains and soldiers, yet such excesses do not make the cause less just. He should consider also that, supposing that his Majesty should choose, for excellent state reasons (as we said were proposed), to abandon those districts of Asia, as the Chinese did, and to narrow the bounds of his monarchy, the cause of the faith would not permit it. Our kings are ministers of the faith, and sons of the Catholic church, and any war waged for the introduction of the gospel is most important, and of the greatest profit, even though it be to acquire or to gain desert provinces. Besides the Filipinas have shown how docile are their natives, and how thoroughly they benefit by the example and company of the Spaniards—the tokens of the affection with which they have received the faith and aid the religious who are extending the faith and carrying it to China, Japon, Camboxa, Mindanao, the Malucas, and the other places where endures idolatry or friendship with the demons (which the former owners of the country left to them when they excluded those places from their dominion), or the fictions of Mahomet, which those places afterward admitted. This is the chief reason for conserving those provinces. (Book iv, pp. 161, 162.)

Conquest of the Malucas Islands

BOOK FIFTH

After the Luzones or Manilas Islands – both these being ancient names – had been discovered by Magallanes, Sebastian Cano returned to España, after the former's death and the successive deaths of his companions, in that venerable ship which – as if significant of its voyage, which contains more of truth than of probability – they called “Vitoria.” Sebastian Cano was a mountaineer, from the hamlet of Guetaria in the Pyrenees Mountains, according to Mapheo,²⁷⁶ in his Latin history. In his history he devotes much space to the great courage of Cano, and his skill in the arts of navigation. He recounts the universal respect and admiration bestowed upon Cano, since he was the first in the age of mortals to circumnavigate this globe. And in truth, what estimation can remain to the fabulous Argonauts, Tiphys and Jason, and the other navigators whom the elegance or the daring of Grecia extols, when compared to our Cano? He was the first witness of the commerce of the seas, and nature opened to his eyes what had been reserved until then for them; and he was

²⁷⁶ This probably refers to Giovanni Pietro Maffei, a noted Jesuit scholar and writer, and the book mentioned is his *Historiarum Indicarum Libri xvi* (Fiorenze, 1588). Maffei was born at Bergame about 1536, according to Moreri, but in 1533 according to Sommervogel. In 1563 he accepted the chair of rhetoric at Genoa, where he also acted as secretary of the republic of Genoa. August 26, 1565 (Sommervogel) he entered the Jesuit novitiate. He occupied a high place in the order until his death at Tivoli, October 20, 1603. Besides the book mentioned above, he wrote also a life of St. Ignatius Loyola, and a history of the pontificate of Gregory XIII, the latter of which was never published. His temper was irascible and his personality not very pleasing. He strove always to maintain a pure Latin style in his Latin writings.

allowed to explore it all, and to furnish a beginning in so arduous endeavors for the law that saves and renders eternal. After the death of Magallanes, the Lusones Islands – which ought to have inherited his name, as being his sepulcher, as the strait did because of his passage through it – changed that name for that of Filipinas,²⁷⁷ in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-five; although those islands of that eastern archipeago are also called by that name. Adelantado Miguel de Legaspe, who was sent from Nueva España by Viceroy Don Luys de Velasco with a Spanish fleet, made port in those islands. He conquered first the island of Zebu and those in its vicinity, where he remained six years. That region is called by another name, Pintados, still preserved by different portions of that coast, because the Indians at that time went about naked, and with their bodies adorned and painted [*i.e.*, tattooed] in various colors. Legaspe left a guard there and went to occupy Luzon, one hundred and fifty leguas from Zebû. He fought the barbarians, whom, after the surprise of our ships, weapons, and faces had worn off, the same novelty encouraged. Legaspe anchored in a bay four leguas wide, which shows an island midway in its entrance, now called Marivelez. The bay has a circuit of thirty leguas to the city of Manila, and is eight leguas wide from north to east. The inhabitants of that city resisted him with greater courage than the Pintados, for they had artillery and a fort. But after the Spaniards had taken that, the defenders of it surrendered. This was done quickly, and allowed no time for the inhabitants to unite. Thus did Le-

²⁷⁷ Argensola, like Morga, confuses the naming of the Philippine archipelago.

gaspe enter Manila, a place fortified by nature. At one point of it (which is surrounded by the water of the bay) is a river of considerable volume, whose source is the great Lake of Vay [Bay], five leguas distant. This point, narrow and slender at first, becomes wider immediately, for the seashore turns toward the southwest, and the bank of the river toward the east, so that a very considerable space is left for the city. The city is entirely surrounded with water, except that part between the west and south. Legaspe founded the city then with wooden buildings, for wood is produced abundantly in those regions. The roofs of the houses were covered with nipa leaves, which resemble our mace-reed,²⁷⁸ and which form a sufficient defense against the rains. It is, however, an inflammable material, and is the occasion of the great fires that have happened there so often. Luzon is more densely populated than any of the many islands—which are called Filipinas in honor of King Filipo II, and which, as is affirmed, number eleven thousand. Luzon has a circumference of three hundred and fifty leguas. Beyond the bay it runs one hundred leguas to the north, as far as Nueva Segovia; from the beginning of that province (namely, Cape Bojador), it runs for thirty leguas east to the promontory of El Engaño. Thence the coast runs south for eighty leguas, and then with another changed direction for forty leguas to what they call Embocadero [“the channel”], that is, the strait opposite the island Tandaya, which is distant eighty more leguas from the bay. Consequently the island has the shape of a square; it has many harbors, but

²⁷⁸ The aquatic plant commonly known as “cat-tail flag” or reed (*Typha latifolia*).

few capacious ports. Manila is in slightly more than fourteen degrees of northern latitude, and in longitude (reckoning from the Canarias) one hundred and sixty. The most northern part of Luzon lies in nineteen degrees [of latitude]. With the sea between them, the great kingdom of China lies on that side of it, seventy leguas away; while the islands of Japon lie to the northeast, at a distance of two hundred and fifty leguas. On the east is the open ocean, and on the south the greatest of the archipelagos of the ocean, which is divided into five archipelagos. These are broken up into so many islands, kingdoms, and provinces, that one would believe that nature did not desire men to ascertain their number. Both Javas, our Malucas, Borneo, and Nueva Guinea are known; on the west, and at a distance of three hundred leguas, Malaca, Sian, Patan, Camboxa, Cochinchina, and other different provinces on the mainland of Asia. The Chinese abandoned living in our Filipinas, but not its trade; nor did the cultivation or the fertility of the islands for that reason cease. Wheat and other necessary grains are produced there in abundance; deer, cattle, buffaloes, goats, and wild boars; and fruits and spices. If there be anything lacking, the Chinese from Chincheo bring it, such as chinaware and silks. The wine always used and drunk there is made from palms, by cutting off the clusters of fruit that they produce, when green – that fruit is called cocos – from which, after cutting the leaf stalks, they gather the liquor that flows forth, and boil it in jars, until it becomes so strong that it causes intoxication and has the same effects as the strongest Spanish wine. Of native fruits, there are oranges, lemons, and very sweet citrons; while they have fig and pear-

trees introduced from España. They rear sparrow-hawks, herons [*martinetes*], and royal eagles in great abundance. They have a great many different kinds of parrots, and other birds, large and small. In the rivers and lakes are many horrible caymans or crocodiles; these kill the Indians very easily – and especially the children, who go carelessly to their haunts – as well as the cattle when they go to drink. Not a few times has it happened that they have seized the cattle by the muzzles and pulled them beneath the water, and drowned them without power to resist, however large the animal may be. Then the carcass is dragged ashore and devoured. . . . Indians are found so courageous that, notwithstanding the fierceness of those animals, they kill them with their hands. They cover the left hand and arm with a glove made from buffalo hide, and hold therein a stake or peg, somewhat longer than a *tercia*,²⁷⁹ and about as thick as the wrist, and sharpened at both ends. Then they enter the river until the water reaches the waist. The crocodile rushes upon the Indian with open mouth to devour him. The latter presents to it his protected arm and the hand with the stake, so that the beast may seize it, and runs it into the animal's mouth in such a position that it cannot shut its mouth or make use of its strong teeth to attack its slayer. Feeling the pain of the sharp stake the crocodile becomes so docile that it neither resists nor attacks, nor dares move, for the slightest movement causes it pain. Thereupon the barbarian, pulling strongly on the stake, wounds the beast repeatedly with a dagger (carried in the right hand) in the throat, until it bleeds to death. Then it is drawn

²⁷⁹ A measure, one-third vara in length.

ashore with lines and ropes, with the aid of other Indians who unite to drag it in; and many are needed, because of the huge bodies of those crocodiles. They resemble lizards, but are furnished with scales so strong that scarce can an arquebus-shot dent them. The only vulnerable spots are the throat and under parts of the legs [*i.e.*, where they join the body], where nature has given them a certain sweet odor, which the Indians use. Besides cattle, all the animals of Africa and more are found in those islands – tigers, lions, bears, foxes, monkeys, apes, squirrels – and in some of them are many civet-cats. These last are wont to be hunted extensively, in order to take them to different nations with the other merchandise of China – linens, silks, earthenware, iron, copper, steel, quicksilver, and innumerable other things, which are transported annually from those provinces. Religion and government are the same as those of España; but in those islands that are still unsubdued, foolish idolatry prevails. They attribute immortality to their souls, but they believe that souls wander from one body to another, according to that ridiculous [doctrine of] transmigration invented or declared by Pythagoras. Trading is much in vogue, and is advanced by the Chinese commerce. The Filipinos are more courageous than their other neighbors. The Spaniards and creoles do not belie their high origin.

By order of King Filipo an army was formed from all this people, in order to attempt to take the forts of Maluco. Don Gonçalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa was governor. Although he had received beforehand certain information by way of trade and the spies that had gone there, he was not satisfied with

them, and sent another soldier to Maluco. The latter changed his clothes, and then with that and his aspect, which was not unlike that of the natives, and their language, which he spoke fluently, went to Tydore. He found our men very desirous of the enterprise, and the king of that island ready to push it with his forces. He went to Ternate with the merchants, and saw the fortresses and the reefs about the ports; and sounded their friendship with the English. He found that the latter landed and traded securely – or rather, as if by right. Nor was the multitude of secret Christians unknown to him, who would take up arms in due season; nor any of the other things, that, as an experienced spy, it was necessary for him to report. Thereupon Ronquillo prepared about three hundred Spaniards and more than one thousand five hundred Filipinos, with ammunition, food, and sailors. With three large vessels and a considerable number of smaller ones, he set sail toward Maluco at the proper season. Pedro Sarmiento was general, an energetic and experienced man, who still lives in Manila. He set out courageously and energetically, in order to destroy any of the enemies then sailing those seas. Several days previous his Majesty had appointed Pablo de Lima to the charge of Ternate, if it were gained; and had allowed his brother, Francisco de Lima, the concession of two voyages to Maluco, in consideration of their services and those of Henrique, their father. Pablo had married a Christian woman, and a devout one, although she was a relative of the king of Tydore, who is not a Christian. For this reason, and because he possessed in Ternate the ancient inheritance to the towns of Guita, Mofaquia, Mofaguita, Pauate, Pelueri, Sansuma,

Tahane, Mayloa, and Soma; and in the island of Maquien, Sabele, Talapao, Talatoa, Mofabouaua, Tabalola, Tagono, Bobaba, and Molapa – of the majority of which the Ternatan king had dispossessed him, as well as Bitua and other towns in Tydore, on the pretext of his having abandoned them – he went to Manila, where he discussed with the governor the method of facilitating the conquest, on the very eve of its execution. His counsel was favored, and he gave it as it was his own cause. For, in addition to the inheritance that the king of Ternate had usurped from him, he expected to get the island of Moutil, which had belonged to his ancestors. The expedition was also authorized by the presence of Don Juan Ronquillo, the governor's nephew, who held equal authority by land and sea with Sarmiento. If there were anything wanting, it was thought that it would be supplied easily by the valor of the soldiers, together with the shortness of the voyage and the carelessness of the enemy. But the divided command proved an obstacle to that hope. Their voyage was not stormy, but neither was it so favorable that they were enabled to anchor exactly at Ternate, as was necessary in order to deprive the enemy from using their own vigilance. They went to Moutil to anchor, and within sight of the inhabitants of the land, fought with some hostile *janquas*.²⁸⁰ These were captured, and the Christians found within them were set at liberty. As Pablo de Lima knew the harbors, and as the people of the island did not possess the forces necessary to defend themselves against a fleet, and as it was easily attacked on the sides, it surrendered. The natives came with branches of palms, citron-trees,

²⁸⁰ Small armed vessels like rafts.

and gariofylos [*i.e.*, *caryophyllus*], or clove-trees, as tokens of peace, and to beg pardon. They obtained both, and for master, Pablo de Lima. However the vesting him with that domain proved of little utility; for a few days after, all the people slipped away, either considering themselves more secure in Ternate, or to meet the enemy—who must necessarily carry the war to that island, as happened. Sarmiento repaired his vessels on that island [*i.e.*, Moutil], and without the loss of a single soldier, and flushed by his first victory, went to Talangame, passing through the hostile caracoas, which had been fitted up hastily and without order. The fort and the king, in possession of our artillery—especially the rampart, which was enlarged and afterward called Cachil Tulo, after the king's uncle, who built it—were in readiness long before, and were threatening some great disaster. Our men landed on that side, but their landing was opposed by the Ternatans. However night put an end to battle, and each side retiring to safety, our men finished landing and mounting their artillery, in the position and manner counseled by Pablo de Lima, who ever since then has been general of artillery in the fort of Tydore. The king of that island wished to join our troops, as was shown by certain actions, and by his promises to Alférez Dueñas; but he doubted the fortune of the Castilians, as if he had not had many experiences of it. Now the occasion persuaded him and fidelity bound him, but he still hesitated. The doubt of that king is believed to have hurt the outcome of the affair. Sarmiento, after having mounted the artillery and securely fortified himself, and after having taken some captives (from whom he learned the food supply and arms of the

besieged), commenced to hem in the enemy, and to bombard them furiously. However he did not scare them, for they answered boldly. It became necessary to seize the high places, from which, as from commanding eminences – which were leveled later – our men harassed the enemy. Had they persevered in this, it would have sufficed to end the war. But to such an extent did sickness reign in our camp, that no better medicine was found than that of absence, and deferring this undertaking to another time. The assistance from Tydore was of no consequence. They proved lukewarm friends, and all the rest was spiritless. Heaven knows the other reasons. There must have been some stronger ones; for, in reality, the camp was raised, and after embarking returned to Manila, without having had any greater effect than to increase the confidence of the enemy.

Then only the English nation disturbed Spanish dominion in that orient. Consequently King Filipo desired not only to forbid it with arms near at hand, but also to furnish an example, by their punishment, to all the northern nations, so that they should not undertake the invasions that we see. A beginning was made in this work in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, as is related in the following discourse.

[The beheading of Mary Stuart, the English confederation with Holland, and the building, disaster, and defeat of the “invincible armada” follow. The narrative continues:].

The Hollanders or Zealanders, confederated with Queen Isabel [*i.e.*, Elizabeth of England], being witnesses of that event [*i.e.*, the defeat of the armada], were encouraged to aspire to greater efforts,

in disobedience to their religion and to their sovereign, to usurp the eastern riches – mines, spices, drugs, and silks – as is seen by their reckless voyages, in which they have been emulous of the recent examples set by the English, and by the more ancient ones left us by Colon, Alburquerque, Magallanes, Gama, and Cortes, as we shall see later. . . .

After Santiago de Vera became governor of the Filipinas, he was especially ordered to equip a fleet to attack Ternate, where the English, from that time forward, were trading with all security. All nations had established factories there, except the Javanese and the Lascars. More than two thousand five hundred Moros from Meca were preaching their abominable doctrine. They did not fear Portugal; all their fear was caused by the Castilians, whom but lately they found pledged to vengeance. The king of Ternate knew that Sarmiento and Ronquillo would have taken it, had not disease prevented them. When the new preparation was learned in Tydore, the rumor was taken to Ternate by spies. That king immediately summoned his vassals, especially the islanders of Maquien and Homero, who, inasmuch as those islands are so densely populated, responded with forty caracoas. The number would have been greater, but the king would not permit that more should be equipped than he requested, as he could not conceal his dread lest they rebel, as the lands were full of Christians, and the tributes that he had imposed on them were so excessive. Santiago de Vera made Captain Juan Morones general, who was not lacking in prudence, just as valor was not lacking to the soldiers, or ammunition and artillery to the fleet. Pablo de Lima assisted in both forces. But

whether caused by natural ambition, or want of harmony in some other way, they were so disunited that one would have prophesied jealousies before they left Manila. They set sail in good weather, and escaped the greatest hardships of the sea. But when they considered themselves safe, all the elements were loosed upon the fleet. Light and reckoning failed them. The boats were shattered and the most important one sunk, with the loss of all its crew. That was the galleon called "Santa Helena," which was carrying the pieces to bombard the fortress, and considerable of the other ammunition and apparatus. However they persisted, and the king of Bacham assisted them with the men that he had raised under the pretext of sweeping the sea of certain enemies; and, as a baptized Christian, he bewailed the apostasy that he had made, because of persecution, from the glorious confession of our faith, and promised the restitution of his soul.

[The futile operations of the Spaniards at Ternate follow. Refusing advice, the commander tries to take the main fort instead of attacking in different places with small detachments. Finally the siege is raised, when the enemy is almost starved out. Communication with traders from Europe is again free to Ternate, "especially with their new friends, the English." But internal disputes and ambitions in Ternate lead to the following letter to Santiago de Vera from Cachil Tulo, uncle of the illegitimate king of Ternate:]

My brother, Cachil Babu, former king of Ternate, wrote to Portugal to the king, requesting justice on a man who killed his father and mine, in return for which he promised to deliver to his Majesty the fort

of Ternate, of which he had been dispossessed. And as his Majesty succeeded to the kingdoms of Portugal, he answered my brother's letter by Cachil Naique, his ambassador. But when it arrived, my brother was already dead, for which reason we did not then deliver the fortress, as a bastard son had succeeded him, whom the Ternatans, with the help of the king of Tydore, elevated as king, although he had no right to the throne. He refused to fulfil his father's promise and pledge. Neither would he take my counsel or that of my brother, Cachil Mandraxa, rightful heir of the kingdom, namely, that he deliver the fortress, as his father had promised the Portuguese—not because he could not defend himself from them or from his Majesty, but expressly because he had been thus ordered by his father and my brother. It must not be understood that it was taken from us by force of arms, but that we of ourselves had this will to deliver the fortress to serve his Majesty. Upon seeing us with this intention he determined to kill my brother, his uncle, the rightful heir of the kingdom, by having him stabbed by the hand of a slave, under his word and security and mine. Therefore, considering such action of my nephew senseless, and that he refuses to fulfil what his father and I and my brothers promised to his Majesty, I have determined, now and henceforth, to become the true vassal and servant of his Majesty. By this present I bind myself, and I swear by my religion, as I did so swear, and I shall not annul my pledge, through the father-vicar Antonio Ferreyra, to give all my help and aid for the taking of the fort, with all my kindred and friends, until his Majesty's captain takes possession of it, or he

who shall hereafter come with the Portuguese and Castilians, who shall be in his company. [This I shall do] provided that the captain or captains in his Majesty's name shall fulfil toward me the signed promise of Duarte Pereyra, the chief captain, inasmuch as I gave him another such message. That is to proclaim me king of Ternate, as soon as he shall take possession of the fort for his Majesty; for it belongs to me both through my father, and by the service that I am rendering, and that I hope to render later, to his Majesty. Therefore, I beseech your Lordship for favor, and request you in his Majesty's name to aid me by sending the greatest possible number of soldiers; and that quickly, so that this my intention and will to serve his Majesty in this may be achieved, and, as I hope, without loss of life—although, as your Lordship will have learned, this fortress is well garrisoned. The order and arrangement that these soldiers would better observe will be written to your Lordship by the chief captain. Given in Tydore, where I have come for this purpose, as the father-vicar Antonio Ferreyra and the auditor Antonio de Matos will testify, whom, as such persons, I begged to sign for me. May 23.

[The letter of the Portuguese commander verifies the above letter, and asks for four hundred Spanish soldiers, under pretext of sending them "to drive the Javanese from those seas, whose friendship the Ternatans value more than ours." They at least will keep the English from Ternatan ports. Fifteen fragatas and one galleon will be enough, and they are to be accompanied by Filipino pioneers. He tries to persuade the governor to undertake the expedition. Vera is anxious to do so, but is unable to attempt it

at once. Meanwhile Cachil Tulo dies, and the vigilance required in watching the Chinese and Japanese in the Philippines renders it impossible to send the expedition to Ternate. "Each one of these expeditions made inroads on the treasury and forces of the province, to so great an extent that it was necessary to allow a breathing-space to each of them." It is thought that a joint expedition from Malaca and Manila will accomplish more, and this is made some years later, under Andres Furtado de Mendoza, of whose character and some of whose deeds there follows an account. The island of Ceylon, its products and fauna are partially described, and some of its connection with the Portugese. Returning to Philippine matters, the narrative continues:]

At this time Santiago de Vera was already dismissed from his governorship of the Filipinas. After he had communicated with Andres Furtado, and received an answer from him, in which the latter coincided with his desire, fortune disturbed these beginnings, and Furtado became embroiled with those who did not love him, and Santiago de Vera was withdrawn from his office. Gomez Perez de las Mariñas, knight of the habit of Santiago, succeeded him. He was a man of great reputation, a native of Betanços in the kingdom of Galicia. He reached Filipinas in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety. He brought his son Don Luis with him, a knight of the habit of Alcántara. The new governor found Manila open to attack, without the form of a city, and without any money with which to improve it. More than two hundred thousand pesos were needed for it. However, by his plans and schemes, he completed the work without public

or private loss. He established a monopoly of playing cards, imposed fines for excessive play, punished illicit combinations and frauds among the provision-dealers and the shops of that class: from all of which resulted the walls of Manila, which measured twelve thousand eight hundred and forty-nine geometric feet [*i. e.*, Spanish feet], each foot being one *tercia*. To this he added his own careful oversight, and the assistance of the inhabitants, who aided willingly because of the request and example of their chief. The city had but one fort, and that badly constructed. He built another at the entrance to the river, to which he gave the name of Santiago, and enclosed the old one. He finished the cathedral, and, from the foundation, the church of Santa Potenciana, patroness of the island, as a shelter for women. Then he started the casting of cannon, and brought good artisans, who furnished the city with large and small artillery. He built galleys for the trade and commerce of merchandise – the subsistence of those lands. And in fulfilment of his promises in España, he cast his eyes on Ternate and all of Maluco, on the late disgrace and the unfortunate results of his predecessors who had attempted the conquest of that choice kingdom, and the punishments of its tyrants. He communicated these thoughts orally and by letters with zealous persons, more particularly with Marta,²⁸¹ a priest of the Society of Jesus, a serious and

²⁸¹ This was Father Antonio Marta, a Neapolitan, and superior of the Jesuit missions in the Malucas; with him was associated Antonio Pereira, so prominent in the expedition of Hurtado de Mendoza. See La Concepción's account of Marta's services at this time (*Hist. de Philipinas*, ii, pp. 197-204). Marta is not mentioned by Sommervogel.

energetic man, whose experience and instruction had been of great use in those regions. This man gave him information, counsels, and helpers for the preparation and for the work. One of the latter was Brother Gaspar Gomez, a Spaniard, a lay religious of the same society. Among the many conferences that were held upon this matter, I find an exhortation from Father Antonio Marta, in a letter written from Tydore. As it is the original, and good for the better understanding, I will place it here, translated from the Portuguese. . . .

[The letter above mentioned holds out to Dasmariñas the three inducements of service to the king, service to God, and personal ambition, in the proposed Molucca expedition. The war will be an arduous one, for "it will be fought not with the Ternatans alone, but with all the Moros of this archipelago," and the natives are brave and determined. "The people of Tydore already say that they do not want Spaniards in these regions," and Gomez Perez will find it prudent to dissemble with them, "so that they will not join the Ternatans." Father Marta sends a map of the archipelago, promises immense booty, and assures the governor of the prayers of the religious. This letter, and conferences with one Geronymo de Azevedo and Brother Gaspar Gomez, decided the governor to undertake the expedition. He sent Gaspar Gomez with instructions to visit and inspect various parts of the archipelago; and the latter visited Ternate, Tydore, Mindanao, both Javas, and other regions as far as Malaca. The rest of book five is taken up with a relation of Pedro de Acuña's services and his appointment to Cartagena in Nueva España.]

Conquest of the Malucas Islands

BOOK SIXTH

Meanwhile Gomez Perez, attentive to his preparation, concealed his purpose, while not sparing the expenses pertaining to ships, food, and men. Among other supplies, he built four fine galleys. To man them – as is there reported – he employed a means that was considered severe. He ordered that the number of Indians sufficient to equip the galleys²⁸² be purchased from those who were the slaves of other Indian chiefs, and that the Spanish encomenderos should pay for these men from their own money. The price assigned for each Indian was two taes of gold – each tae being slightly more than one onza – the value formerly general among them for slaves. He promised that the sum spent by the encomenderos for that purpose would be repaid afterward from the royal exchequer. However, this did not seem any lessening of the severity, for he improperly called those Indians slaves; but [among themselves] their masters treat them and love them as children, feed them at their tables, and marry them to their daughters. Besides, slaves were then valued higher. To the anger of those who were about to be sold, was joined that of the encomenderos, who were obliged to contribute from their property for expenses – which, in their opinion, were not very necessary – and to offend their tributarios by forcibly seizing them; while they themselves would never collect the price they were paying in advance, which was [to them] the most certain thing. The governor gave

²⁸² See Dasmariñas's version of this proceeding, in VOL. VIII, pp. 239, 294; he there states that the Indians thus taken were to be freed at the end of three years' service. Cf. VOL. X, p. 214.

out that those galleys were to assure the country and defend it from the danger that threatened; for he knew absolutely that the emperor of Japon was going to attack it with a huge war-fleet. Without galleys it could not be defended, and consequently he was forced to man them with those slaves, since other rowers were lacking. These slaves were not to be chained in the galley, or treated as convicts; but would receive so great kindness that they themselves would prefer that treatment to that of their owners, whom they already had as fathers and fathers-in-law. These arguments, and the pressing need for defense, silenced all objections. But they did not silence report, for already it was known that he had come from España, pledged to the king, his ministers, relatives, and backers, to the Ternate undertaking; and, although he concealed it, unknown authors divulged it. Yet some tried to persuade him not to entrust the defense of Filipinas to the Chinese or Sangleys, for no bond, natural or civil, had ever bound or attracted them to any love for the islands. They bade him remember the recent example of what those people did on an occasion on which they were employed by his predecessor, and to be on his guard against them. He [*i.e.*, Vera], sending a reënforcement of men, ammunition, and food to the fort and settlement of Cagayàn – which is on the shore of that island of Luzon, eighty leguas from the city of Manila – inasmuch as he then had no ship in which to send them, and being constrained by his present necessity, thought that he could supply the deficiency by using for that purpose a ship of the Chinese, then anchored at that port and about to return to China. He ordered the reënforcement to be embarked on that boat and

the Chinese to convey it; and to leave it, on passing, at its destination, since that was directly on their way. He promised the Chinese to recompense and reward them for that service. They offered to do it with great display of willingness, howbeit that their cunning was seen in the sequel, and what opportunity teaches to him that awaits it. The Chinese set sail, and on the second day, while our Spaniards were asleep, and quite sure of being among friends and faithful ones, the Chinese attacked them in the night, so suddenly that they could not defend themselves. They were all beheaded and thrown into the sea. The Chinese pillaged all their cargo, and after dividing the booty, sailed for their own country. They only kept with them one wretched Spanish woman who accompanied our men. They left her alive, but after having insulted and maltreated her, left her on the first Chinese shore that they reached. She went then to the magistrates there, and informed them of the treachery committed by those people, and of the violence that they had inflicted on her. But although the judges were courteous to her, no satisfaction was given her for her injuries, and she was unable to obtain justice. On the contrary they ordered her to be taken into the interior by certain agents, and delivered to other supreme judges. On that journey, which was very long and many leguas, she endured greater hardships – until some governors, taking compassion on her and her tears, took her to the city of Macao, where the Portuguese reside, and they set her at liberty. Through that means, the whole deed was learned, and was in the mouth of all in Manila; and upon the occasion of this expedition, they exaggerated it still more.

Finally, all of the slaves demanded by Governor Gomez Perez had to be supplied, but with injuries and acts of oppression; and with the same injuries and oppression they were all put on the galleys. There they remained some time before sailing, and some of them died, because they were unused to that life. All those slaves proved insufficient to man all the galleys, and the flagship was without rowers. On that account, and in order to complete the work, more severe methods were used than at first. The governor ordered that two hundred and fifty Chinese be drafted from those who go to Filipinas to trade, in order to man or equip the flagship. Each of them was to be paid two pesos monthly from the royal treasury. The governor assured them that they would not be chained, but free, and could have their weapons and serve as soldiers, and would only have to row the galley during calms, if any should occur, and in order to double certain headlands. This decision being communicated to the Chinese, they all refused it as an intolerable burden. But when our governor insisted upon this, in order to carry out his design, the Chinese governor assembled his people in order to discuss the matter, and to plan how they might choose two hundred and fifty from among them all; and he threatened that he would take every tenth man by their houses. That threat disturbed them so much, that the next day, all their windows were closed, and the merchants closed their shops; and the community was deprived of the provisions which were supplied to it by them. Our governor, upon seeing this, saying that they had mutinied, had about fifty of them seized, the first whom he could find, and put them in the galleys at the oar. There-

upon the rest, being cowed, assembled, and made up from among their number all the two hundred and fifty. And inasmuch as no one of them wished to be of that number, they distributed among those who accepted that service twenty thousand pesos, which were given as a present to those Chinese who would go on the galley, each one being given eighty pesos, besides the king's pay. With this good aid, Chinese were not wanting to consent to act as rowers, although the twenty thousand pesos were spent among them – or, more correctly, among the officers. From those two hundred and fifty Chinese, five companies were formed, and five Chinese Christians appointed as captains. They made their musters and reviews, with pikes and catans – which are but slightly different from cutlasses – and appeared to be happy and contented. Amid these occupations Brother Gaspar Gomez came unexpectedly to Manila, loaded with information which he referred to the governor in a number of private conferences. He said that the king of Ternate was not badly prepared, although his forces were somewhat weakened by his not being in very great harmony with the majority of the chiefs of his kingdom. Many were threatening to rebel because of his tyrannies and excessive levies of tribute. Now Javanese, Lascars, and Moros from Meca no longer resorted to Ternate, as they did in the time when Captain Morones went there during the term of Santiago de Vera. Gaspar Gomez gave very detailed information about the two forts of Talangame. He found that the king of Ternate usually had about three thousand soldiers, one thousand of them arquebusiers; while a considerable number came from the other kingdoms of his

crown. They fought with missile weapons, campilans, and shields, and other armor of coats-of-mail and helmets, which Portuguese had traded for spice. They had considerable ammunition, all made by themselves from materials taken there by the Javanese as payment for cloves. Their chief place was the city of Ternate, where the king and all his court resided. Consequently it was the best guarded, and from that place the others obtained strength, courage, and all reënforcement. Gaspar Gomez advised that our army attack before dawn, for all assaults made at dawn on that people had always succeeded well. If our fleet could arrive unseen, it would without doubt conquer. But that king had placed spies and sentinels on almost all of his islands, and even in Canela, Sarrangán, and Mindanao. From the fort of Amboyno and from the kings of Syan [*i.e.*, Siaó] and Tidore, a goodly number of bronze culverins and much other artillery could be brought in their caracoas. The Amboynos would send these at command, and they would be sent from Syan and Tydore as soon as requested; for, besides doing homage to the crown of España, those kings are hostile to Ternate. The supplies necessary to finish the war, even in case the king of Tydore should fail them (of whom it might be suspected that he did not wish to see his enemy totally destroyed), were the artillery and craft that were being prepared; and more than one thousand two hundred soldiers, well-armed and equipped with coats-of-mail and helmets, until they should go to the island of Banda in order to garrison that island as it needed. There should be a number of light vessels to catch the enemy when fleeing. Thus would the war be finished entirely and quickly, and with-

out bloodshed. The infidel Ternatans themselves even said and published the same. They confessed that, if a large contingent of soldiers should reach their land, they would universally render homage without fighting. Consequently he inferred that secret Christians were living in the Malucas. The entire conquest of that island of Banda was very useful and advantageous, and of slight risk; and its maintenance was of great importance to the inhabitants of Amboyno, which belongs to us. Gaspar Gomez also affirmed that the Portuguese were facilitating the enterprise considerably, and recounted the interest and profit that would accrue to his Majesty. Father Antonio Marta was also of that opinion, in whom Governor Gomez Perez placed so great faith. Brother Gaspar Gomez to these so full reports and information added such details that he quite set on fire the mind of the governor.

At this time the king of Camboxa, named Landara, sent the governor an embassy through two Spanish captains, accompanied by many Cambodians, with the requisite authority for prosecuting his cause. That barbarous king took care that his ambassadors should not be natives of his kingdoms, because of the lack of confidence with which his vassals inspired him as to their faithfulness. He chose the ambassadors from different classes, so that a good result might come from the difference of their characters and dispositions. One was a Portuguese, Diego Veloso by name, and the other a Castilian, Blas Ruyz de Fernan Gonçalez.²⁸³ They presented

²⁸³ See letters sent by Dasmariñas and his son Luis to the king of Camboja, as a result of this embassy, in VOL. IX, pp. 76-78 and 86, 87; and accounts of the Spanish expeditions to that country under Luis Dasmariñas, in VOL. IX, pp. 161-180, and X, pp. 216,

Gomez Perez with a fine gift, consisting of a considerable quantity of ivory, benzoin, chinaware, pieces of silks and cottons, and an elephant of a noble disposition, as was learned later by experience. They proposed their embassy, which was, in short, to beg help against the king of Syan [*i.e.*, Siam], who was about to attack the Cambodian king with a vast army. The latter in recognition of that aid offered to become a vassal of the king of España, and a Christian. That king was certain that so valorous and courageous a knight as Gomez Perez would, under no circumstance, refuse a deed in which God would receive so obvious a service, and that would be so advantageous to the crown of España. The governor accepted the present, and responded to it by another of certain European products, and thanked the king for his confidence in applying to him. However, it was impossible for him to set about that help just then, or divert any portion of those forces that were prepared to punish the king of Ternate and recover that kingdom and the rest of Maluco, which had rebelled with so great an insult and outrage to the Spanish nation. His Highness should trust in God our Lord, and persevere in his attempt to serve him in the holy and true religion. When the Ternate enterprise was over, he would take his force to the relief of Camboxa. With these hopes, which were fulfilled by Don Luys de las Mariñas, his son, those ambassadors left. In order to give them truthful satisfaction and a just cause for the delay, it was necessary to publish the true purpose of that fleet, which until then had been kept secret.

217, 226-240 – also in Morga's *Sucesos*, chaps. v, vi (in VOL. xv of this series).

Then the governor determined upon his departure, and tried to take with him as many men as possible. They were enlisted, willingly or by force—those who were requested and those who were compelled, alike. The encomenderos and soldiers caused a prodigal expense in ships, supplies and parades—which, because of the great opportunity furnished for all that in Filipinas, exceeded the governor's power and wishes. The governor sent Don Luys, his son, with all the regulars to the island of Cebú, where all the fleet was to be assembled. There he remained six months, awaiting new orders. Gomez Perez was detained in Manila, planning matters of importance. Two days before leaving, while a guest and dining at the house of Pedro de Roxas, his assistant, where he was wont to amuse himself in heavy gaming and merriment, he became so gay—beyond his custom, and contrary to the harshness of his character—that many interpreted it as his last farewell, and an omen of what happened. He recounted in conversation, amid much laughter, that father Fray Vicente, of the Franciscan order, had told him that that enterprise could not succeed; for the army was composed of conscripted men, and especially because the married men were going. The governor left Manila October seventeen, with six royal galleys, one galleon, one fusta, one fragatin, and a number of fragatas, caracoas, and vireys—different varieties of craft of the natives of the country. All the vessels, those belonging to his Majesty and those of his vassals who offered their persons for his service, totaled one hundred. There were one thousand well-armed Spaniards and more than four hundred arquebusiers from the vicinity of Manila; and another thousand

of those called Visaias, people who use lances, shields, and bows and arrows. Besides these, there were more than four hundred others, Chinese, of those living throughout that island; and of those who come to trade, another goodly number, with pay – the great majority of whom were conscripts rather than volunteers. There was in the galleys a quantity of food for the fleet. The governor appointed his son, Don Luys Perez, as lieutenant of the fleet, and ordered him, as above stated, to assemble it at the island of Cebú. He himself embarked in the flagship, a vessel of twenty-eight benches, manned by two hundred and fifty Chinese; and eighty Spaniards also embarked in it. They reached Cabite, whence they sailed on the nineteenth, together with several vessels carrying private persons, who followed the governor at their own expense. They coasted the island of Manila, until they reached Balaján; then they separated, for the vessels did not lose sight of shore, while the governor sailed in the open sea. On the twenty-fifth, he came alone to pass the night at the promontory of Azufre²⁸⁴ [“Sulphur Point”] on the island of Manila, opposite that of Caça, where the current runs strong and the sea is choppy. As it was during the blowing of the brisa, the galley could not advance. It anchored under shelter of the point, but, through the strength of the current, dragged slightly. In order to return to its shelter, the Chinese were kept incessantly at the oar. In fact, they rowed with little energy – either because they were men new to that labor, and forced to

²⁸⁴ Punta Azufre is on the southern coast of Batangas, Luzón; at a little distance is Punta Cazador – at the extreme southern point of Calúmpan peninsula – probably the Caça of the text.

the oar by violence; or because they were fatigued, and harassed by those who commanded them. Other contrary winds assailed them, which further impeded the voyage. In order to double certain promontories of the land, it was necessary to ply the oars, and to urge on the rowers with the severity and punishment generally used in galleys. They thought that harsh, and contrary to the governor's assurance, when he promised them that they would be treated with affection. But neither the whip nor threats, nor overcoming the currents by dint of the sweat of their limbs, seemed to them so intolerable and injurious as to hear from the governor's mouth harsh and severe words, ordering them to row manfully; for did they not, he would put them in chains, and cut off their hair. Such an insult among the Chinese is worthy of death, for they place all their honor in their hair. They keep it carefully tended and gaily decked, and esteem it as highly as ladies in Europa; and, in dressing it, display their taste and their social standing. They determined to mutiny, in order not to suffer such an insult and disgrace. Having appointed for that purpose the following night (namely, the twenty-fifth of October), when the Spaniards had lain down tired out upon the benches, and in other places in the hull, the Chinese did the same. However, they so cunningly divided themselves that each Chinese lay down beside a Spaniard, and pretended to sleep. Just before the hour of dawn, which they considered the most suitable time and the safest of all, upon seeing the Spaniards in their soundest slumber, the Chinese, at the sound of a shrill whistle (which was the signal agreed upon among them), all arose at the same moment; and

each one with the greatest haste put on a white tunic or shirt, so that, in the midst of the uproar and the darkness, they might recognize one another, and distinguish those to be killed. However, for the greater security of the deed, they also lit a considerable number of wax tapers, which they had concealed in the folds of the white tunics. Then they seized their cutans, which are sharper and more curved than our cutlasses, and each Chinese commenced, without disturbing the silence, to strike his neighboring Spaniard; and then, with the increase of their fury, to behead all those who were sleeping. More than sixty had embarked on the flagship, among them the servants of the governor, and others, old soldiers, who in order to oblige and accommodate him were enduring discomfort. They had been gambling all the night; and being tired, and because of the excessive heat, were sleeping naked, some in the midship gangway, others on the benches, while the more favored ones, to whom were given better quarters, slept aft. The governor went into his cabin to sleep. The Chinese proceeded to slaughter those who, suspecting nothing, were sleeping; it was done so quickly that when some of those asleep in the stern awakened, the other Spaniards were already dead. The guard did not perceive it, and such carelessness could admit of no excuse, for they had been sufficiently warned, and examples had preceded. Some waked, but finding themselves wounded and confused, jumped overboard, where most of them were drowned. Some — a very few — jumped overboard before being wounded, but they were also drowned, although they were near shore, for they could not reach land because of the strength of the current. Twelve es-

caped, and many dead bodies were found on the beach. The Chinese, now grown bolder, seized the pikes that they had hidden under the benches, and with outcries completed their treachery. The governor, who was sleeping below the hatchway, with a lantern or candle, awaked. In order to awaken him, the Chinese themselves began purposely to make a greater noise; while they cried out to him and begged him to come out and settle a quarrel among the "Castillas," as they call the Spaniards. He, either for that reason, or thinking that the galley was dragging as on other occasions, arose in his shirt, opened the hatchway, looked out, and pushed his body half way through it. At that same time, the Chinese fell upon him with their cutlasses, and fatally wounded him. They cleft his head, transfixed him with their pikes, and ran him through with more than barbaric ferocity. Perceiving that his death was near at hand, he retired, and took the prayer-book of his order, which he always kept with him, and an image of our Lady. Between those two refuges, which were later found bathed in his blood, he yielded up his life. However he did not die immediately, for they found him later in his bed, tightly holding the image, where he bled to death. About him were the bodies of Daniel Gomez de Leon, his valet, Pantaleon de Brito, Suero Diaz, Juan de Chaves, Pedro Maseda, Juan de San Juan, Carrion Ponce, and Francisco Castillo — all servants of his — besides the bodies of four very valiant slaves, who merited the same end. The outcome was not learned until dawn, for not one of the Chinese dared enter the governor's room that night, fearing lest a portion of the eighty Spaniards of the galley had taken refuge there, so cowardly did

their guilt make them. The only survivors in the galley were Fray Francisco Montilla, a discalced religious of St. Francis, and Juan de Cuellar, the governor's secretary, who were sleeping below decks – where the Chinese, since they are so cowardly, did not dare descend for three days, until after the fury of the first attack had ceased. Then they put them ashore on the Ylocos coast, on the same island of Luzon, so that the natives would let them take water, and because the friar and the secretary had made a certain compact with them, to surrender, if no harm was done them. The Chinese, assured that no other longtime Christians were alive, commenced to cry out and rejoice loudly at having committed that deed, saying now they had no one to fear.

The Spaniards, who were in other boats, near the land, although they saw the lights, and indistinctly heard the noise from the flagship, supposed that it was some unexpected work connected with the galley, or something of that sort. When they learned what was happening, after a long interval, from those who escaped by swimming, they could not remedy it and consequently remained quiet. They were but few, and of inadequate force, and their enterprise was ruined. They waited until the morning, and when it dawned they saw that the galley had already set its bastard,²⁸⁵ and was sailing toward China with the wind astern, and they could not follow it. It made its voyage, as the wind served it, along all the coast of the island, until they cleared Luzon, the Sangleys continuing to celebrate their victory.²⁸⁶ . . .

²⁸⁵ *Bastardo*: the large sail which is hoisted on a galley when there is little wind.

²⁸⁶ Cf. La Concepción's account of Dasmariñas's expedition, in *Hist. de Philipinas*, ii, pp. 194-212.

[The secretary and friar, after suffering great tortures of mind from the Chinese, who threatened often to kill them, are saved at last, through the superstition of the Chinese, and left ashore on the Ilocos coast. The Chinese show their cowardice in a conflict with the natives on that coast, whither they return later "to sacrifice to the demon" one of their Christian Filipino prisoners. Being unable to reach China, they land at Cochinchina, "where the king of Tunquin seizes their cargo, and two large pieces of artillery embarked for the expedition to Maluco, the royal standard, and all the jewels, ornaments, and money. He let the galley drift ashore." The news causes great lamentation in Manila. "Some of those who hated the governor rejoiced, but their wrath immediately vanished and they wept generally." Subsequent events follow:]

. . . The news having been learned in Manila, and no papers of the governor being found, appointing his successor (although it was known that he had a royal decree for this), and believing it had been lost in the galley along with much of his own property, and that of the king and private persons: the city appointed Licentiate Rojas as governor, and he filled the post for forty days. But the secretary, Juan de Cuellar, together with Fray Francisco de Montilla, returning in a wretched plight to Manila, reported that Gomez Perez, before leaving, had left the appointment drawn in favor of his son, Don Luis; and that they would find it in a box in the convent of St. Augustine with other papers, in care of Fray Diego Muñoz. Rojas had already sent an order to Cebù for all the men of the expedition to return, which was obeyed. Thereupon Don Luis, hav-

ing come, by virtue of the authority delegated by his father, although with certain protests, succeeded to that government, until the arrival of Don Francisco Tello.

Such was the end of that cavalier, whose achievements, judged by themselves, have worth, and receive worth also by his zeal in performing them. He did not lack political and military virtues, or prudence in both. But he shut his eyes to examples, and, contrary to their teaching, dared promise himself results, so that he became rash and even confident. But Christian charity excuses all this.

Don Luis, his kindred, and friends, wished to continue the expedition to Maluco, and Father Antonio Fernandez came for that purpose from Tydore; but it was not carried out. The fleet was broken up, which was a signal providence for the Filipinas Islands. For at the beginning of the following year, one thousand five hundred and ninety-four, a considerable number of Chinese vessels, laden with men and arms, but no merchandise as was their wont, came to the islands. The vessels brought seven mandarins, some of the greatest viceroys or governors of their provinces. It was rumored and was proved that when they learned that, as Gomez Perez had undertaken that expedition (on which he had been accompanied by all the Spaniards), they would find the country unarmed, they were of a mind to conquer it or sack it—which would have been very easy for them, had they found it as they expected. The mandarins left their ships twice to visit Don Luis, attended by a great pomp and retinue. He received them kindly, and gave each mandarin a gold necklace. They told him that they had come by order of

their king to get the Chinese who were wandering unsettled among those islands without his leave. But this was considered a pretext for the truth, for so many mandarins were unnecessary for it, or so many armed ships and supplies. Those Chinese were the same as those who killed Gomez Perez, men from Chincheo. Accordingly Don Luis, as against a known offender, sent his own cousin, Don Fernando de Castro, in a vessel to recount their treachery to the Chinese king; but the voyage turned out badly, and this effort wholly failed.

At this time Langara, king of Camboxa, requested help earnestly, and asked Don Luis to keep the promise that his father had made him some time before. Consequently, in fulfilment of it, and so that those forces, or some portion of them, should continue in the service of the Church, for which they were prepared as a benefit for Ternate, he determined to aid that king with them.

[A description of Camboxa follows, with observations on its religion, wealth, products, industries, and fauna. The account of the first expedition to that country is as follows:]

Don Luis, with zeal to reduce those nations to the bosom of the Church, and their wealth and kings to the vassalage of the Spanish crown, equipped three vessels. In them he sent Captain Juan Xuarez Gallinato – a native of Tenerife, one of the Canarias Islands – with one hundred and twenty Spaniards, besides some Filipinos. They left Cebù, but a terrible storm immediately overtook them, and separated the boats. Gallinato, borne by the fury of the winds, put in at Maláca, and the other two vessels at Camboxa. They ascended the river, where they

learned that the king of Sian had routed him of Camboxa, his neighbor. The latter, with the wretched remnants of his army, fled to the kingdom of the Laos, also a neighboring people, but inhuman. While he was begging charity from those most hard-hearted people, the king of Sian had introduced as king of Camboxa one Prauncar, nicknamed "Boca tuerta el Traydor" [*i.e.*, "Wry-mouth, the Traitor"], brother of the conquered king. This event did not hinder the aid that the Spaniards were bringing, under the name of an embassy. They reached the city of Chordumulo, eighty leguas' distance from the bar. Leaving forty Spaniards in the ships, forty others went to visit the place where the king was residing. They immediately made efforts to visit him, but he refused to be seen that day. However, he ordered a good lodging to be given them and had them told that he would grant them audience in three days. But Diego Veloso and Blas Ruyz – either by their former knowledge of the country, or actuated by later craftiness, proceeding from their interpretation of that suspicious delay – visiting a beautiful Indian woman of the king's house, were secretly told by her that, since she was admitted to and even desired in the affairs of that usurper, she knew that he was intending to have them all killed. In the three days that he had assigned them, as a rest from their journey, he was preparing men, and the manner of executing his purpose. The Spaniards thanked her for the warning, not without promises of reward. They were not dismayed at the news of their peril. On the contrary, thanking the Indian woman anew for it, they took an heroic although rash decision. They agreed to invest the king's palace that night,

and if necessary, to resist a whole army. They set about the accomplishment of that enterprise, disproportionate to human strength. They set fire to the powder magazine. The townspeople ran up to its aid, or to see the damage. Amid the confusion, the Spaniards entered the palace, and since they knew the royal apartments, they penetrated them, until they encountered the king in person. Having cut to pieces the soldiers of his guard, they killed him also with their daggers. He defended himself and cried out, but when his men arrived with help they found that he had bled to death. The rumor of this deed aroused the guard, and then the city, which has more than thirty thousand inhabitants. These seizing their arms, more than fifteen thousand men pursued the Spaniards with the arms that fury placed in their hands, and with many armed elephants, which were not unskilled in warfare. Our two captains formed their squadron, and continued to retire in excellent order, always fighting, and killing not a few enemies. The battle lasted all night, and until the second day, when they reached the ships with incredible effort. They embarked and left that kingdom full of new dissensions. The second day after, Gallinato arrived in his ship. He landed, upon hearing of the event, as he thought that he would not be fulfilling his duty if, when he heard the drums and bells, and saw the streets and port, before filled with traders, but now with squadrons, he did not take help to the Spaniards. He gave express orders to his followers to act with all decorum, so that they might relieve the anxiety of the Cambodians and reassure them, both by their bearing and in the calmness of their arguments. The chief men

of Camboxa visited them peacefully, and Gallinato treated them very courteously. He might have performed some great exploit, but seeing that he had so few troops for the undertaking, and that affairs had now taken another form and different condition, he determined to withdraw. He opposed the majority of those influential men, who promised him the crown of the kingdom, since they were well inclined to the Spaniards and to foreign domination. From this came that flippant report that Gallinato was king of Camboxa, which was believed by many in España; and it was represented in the theaters of that country with acclaim and applause. Some men well versed in affairs of those provinces were of opinion that if Gallinato had embraced the opportunity, he might have seized Camboxa and added it to the Spanish crown. I have seen letters from Velloso and Blas Ruiz to the Audiencia of Manila after the event, in which they say the same, and complain of Gallinato for reprimanding what they did. But Gallinato—whose prudence and valor, which had been proved on the most perilous occasions in that Eastern land, and many years before in the wars of Flandes, would not allow him to be easily affected by popular applause—showing an honorable aversion to this temptation, sailed away, to return to Manila. He took in provisions at Cauchinchina. Blas Ruyz and Diego Veloso had also landed there before, and went alone overland to the kingdom of the Laos, which lies west of Cauchinchina, to find the deposed king Langara, to restore him to his throne. They found that he was already dead, but that his son was living. Upon them telling him that they had killed the usurper, his uncle and enemy, he went immediately to

his kingdom with Veloso and Ruyz, accompanied by ten thousand men, whom the king of the Laos gave him, contrary to all expectations. He attacked Camboxa, where Ruyz and Veloso always faithfully accompanied him, both during the war, and afterward in the government. After that the king sent another embassy to Filipinas, asking for men to quiet the rebellions in the kingdom; and he and his vassals promised to receive the faith of Jesus Christ. He also promised a great portion of Camboxa to the Spaniards, so that they might live off its tributes. This embassy reached Manila, just when Don Luis had left the government and handed it over to Don Francisco Tello, which gave occasion to Ternate to establish its tyrannies more firmly.

[A short account of Pedro de Acuña's fortification of Cartagena, in the West Indies, is given, and the consequent withdrawal, without attack, of the Hawkins and Drake fleet despatched in 1595 by Queen Elizabeth. Acuña shows in every way the ability of a good commander.]

But let us return to Assia. The Cambodians still hoped to receive aid from the Filipinas by their usual promise of conversion and vassalage. Don Luis de las Mariñas accepted the expedition, to make it in person and at his own cost. He left Manila with Don Diego Jordan (an Italian), Don Pedro de Figueroa, Pedro Villestil, and Hernando de los Rios Coronel, Spanish captains – the last named at present a priest, and who had also been in the first war of Camboxa. A furious tempest struck them in the open sea, which lasted three days, with the usual horrors. The shipwreck was pitiful. Two vessels were knocked to pieces, and the sea swallowed up all

the men, provisions, and war materials. Of all the soldiers and sailors who shipped aboard the *almiranta*, only five escaped, by swimming to the Chinese shore. Some soldiers also escaped from the flagship, which was broken by the waves, among whom was Captain Hernando de los Rios. The other vessel reached *Camboxa* almost destroyed, after heavy storms. It found in the *Camboxa* River eight Malay junks. The Spaniards, seeing that the junks were carrying certain slaves stolen from the king of *Camboxa*, whom they were coming to help, inconsiderately grappled with the Malays. The latter, who were carrying many and unusual fire devices, having recourse to these rather than to force and arms, burnt our ship, and then in the fire and smoke killed the majority of the Spaniards. Blas Ruiz and Diego Veloso were not there at that time; but soon afterward they were besieged in their quarters by the popular fury, and barbarously murdered in the country where they were negotiating with the king. Those few Spaniards who could escape went to the kingdom of *Sian*, and thence to *Manila*. Heaven permitted that this should be the end of all that preparation made to recover *Ternate* and the other *Malucas*. The tyrant there exulted over the news, and attributed the events to his good fortune, interpreting them as an approbation of his cause. Then he confederated anew with our enemies.

Don Francisco Tello, an Andalusian knight, succeeded Gomez Perez in the government of *Filipinas*. He reached *Manila* in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-six. He immediately set himself to learn the condition in which his predecessors had left matters, and to provide aid for the garrisons.

For, since the emperor of Japon had caused those glorious martyrdoms among the religious of the Order of St. Francis, in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-five, of which news had so lately been received, it was feared that he was going to menace Filipinas.

The inhabitants of the islands [*sic*] of Mindanao hate our nation as deeply as do the Ternatans, and take arms against us in each and every disturbance, as they did in that last one of Ternate. Consequently Estevan Rodriguez de Figueroa made certain agreements with Don Francisco Tello, by virtue of which he made war on the Mindanaos and Ternatans at his own expense.²⁸⁷ Estevan Rodriguez was so rich that he could undertake that exploit with safety. He lived in Arevalo, a town of the island of Panàz [*sic*], one of the Filipinas. He set out with some galleys, fragatas, and champans, and one ship, with Spanish soldiers; and more than one thousand five hundred natives from Pintados, as pioneers. He reached the river of Mindanao April twenty, one thousand five hundred and ninety-six, whereupon the natives of the place (who are especially called Mindanaos) on seeing so brave a people, fled along up the river, and abandoned their settlement to the fury of war. The majority of them arrived at the town Buyahèn, where Raxamura, king of the Mindanaos, was then living. The latter, because of his youthful age, did not have the government in charge, and everything depended on Silonga, an esteemed soldier and captain. Our men, proceeding up the river, reached Tampacan, five leguas from the above village.

²⁸⁷ See accounts of this and later expeditions to conquer Mindanao, in VOL. IX, pp. 181-188, 281-298; and X, pp. 53-75, 214, 215, 219-226.

Prince Dinguilibót, uncle of Monao, its legitimate lord (also a youth), was governing it. These rulers were, of their own accord, friends to the Spaniards; and consequently, on seeing their arms, went out peacefully to meet them, and offered them their help. They told the Spaniards that the enemy – and they were also hostile to the men of Buyahèn – had taken refuge in their fort at that place. Estevan Rodriguez, having heard the news and having complimented those princes, ordered the fleet to weigh anchor and to continue the pursuit for four leguas, always up stream, to Buyahèn. Having arrived, he landed his men on St. Mark's day. Master-of-camp Juan de la Xara led the men, although they landed with but little order, for they had not fought with the Mindanaos, and thought that it would be easy to rout them – as if for that reason, or for any other consideration, one should permit a lack of military discipline. Estevan Rodriguez tried to correct the confusion by his presence, by landing in person. He went clad in armor so strong, that a charge from an *esmeril*²⁸⁸ would not pass through it. Only his head was unarmed, but covered with a cap and plumes, while a negro carried his helmet. He was accompanied by five well-armed soldiers. He had not taken more than fifty steps, when an Indian named Ubal suddenly ran out of some dense tufted thickets, and, attacking him with his *campilan*, cleft open his head. Ubal was the brother of Silonga, and owner of the only cow in all that country. He killed it three days previous to this misfortune, and, inviting his friends to the feast, promised to kill the most distinguished person of the Spaniards in that

²⁸⁸ A small piece of ordnance.

war. He fulfilled his word, for Estevan Rodriguez fell, from his wound, and died three days afterward, without having answered a single word to the questions asked him, although he declared his answers by signs. The five Spaniards, on seeing their captain wounded – so suddenly that the murderer appeared and the blow was heard at the same moment – fell upon Ubal and cut him to pieces. They informed Master-of-camp Xara of the general's death, who, stifling his resentment, withdrew his men, and built a fort in the most suitable place, near the river. He founded there his colony, with suitable arrangements, so that our people could settle it. He appointed regidors and ministers of justice, and called it Nueva Murcia in honor of the Murcia of España, his native region. Then he left affairs incomplete, intending to marry the widow of Estevan Rodriguez, Doña Ana de Oseguera; and reached Filipinas in the first part of June. Governor Don Francisco Tello, hearing of the event at El Embocadero,²⁸⁹ one hundred leguas from Manila, and having been warned of Xara's design in coming, arrested him at his arrival, and sent Captain Toribio de Miranda to take charge of the war in Mindanao. The latter found the troops withdrawn to the port of La Caldera, which is on the same island, but distant thirty-six leguas from the mouth of the river. There they remained until

²⁸⁹ One of the early appellations of the strait between the northwest point of Samar and the southeast point of Luzón, now known as San Bernardino Strait. As it was the regular outlet for the vessels plying between the Philippines and Nueva España, this strait was also called Paso de Acapulco ("the Acapulco passage"). By some authorities the meridian of San Bernardino was used as the standard, or "meridian of departure." See San Antonio's *Chronicas*, part i, 55 (cited by Retana in Zúñiga's *Estadismo*, ii, p. 156*; see also p. 409*).

August, when Don Francisco Tello appointed Don Juan Ronquillo in Manila as captain; he was also captain of the galleys. He also appointed as captains, to accompany him, Pedro Arceo, Covarrubias and others; as master-of-camp, Diego Chaves Cañizares; as sargento-mayor, Garcia Guerrero; and as captains of infantry, Christoval Villagra and Cervan Gutierrez. Don Juan arrived with this reënforcement to attack the enemy, and fell upon them so suddenly that, seeing themselves exhausted, they begged help from the king of Ternate—whom the Mindanaos recognize by certain payments which are the same, or almost the same, as tributes. Buizàn, a brother of Silonga, went on that embassy to Ternate, and negotiated so efficaciously that the Ternatan king sent seven caracoas with him, six pieces of artillery, two medium-sized pieces, and some falcons, together with six hundred men. These, sailing to the river of Mindanao, tried to ascend as far as Buyahèn by it. But they found at its mouths great obstructions to pass, because in one branch the largest Spanish fort threatened them, and the galleys and other boats; and in the other was a narrow pass, which ran to a point, on which was built a rampart guarded by forty men. From that place to the other side of the river, our men had themselves built a very strong wooden bridge, close to which a galliot plied. The Ternatans, seeing so strong a defense on both sides, resolved to fortify themselves on the chief mouth of the river. They built a small fort, and, together with an equal number of Mindanao soldiers, shut themselves up in it. This news aroused General Ronquillo to dislodge them. He went down to accomplish it with the galleys and other vessels, and

one hundred and forty well-armed men. He landed with one hundred and sixteen men, together with Captains Ruy Gomez Arellano, Garcia Guerrero, Christoval Villagra, and Alonso de Palma. He met the enemy at a distance of eighty paces on the bank of the river. The Ternatans and Mindanaos had carefully cleared the front of their fort, but had designedly left a thicket at one side of it, where three hundred Ternatans were ambushed, while the rest were inside the fortress. As both parties saw how few of our men were attacking them, they grew ashamed of their fortress and ambush. Threatening our men insolently, they showed themselves and advanced upon the Spaniards. They found so great opposition from our men that without using any stratagem, or for no other reason beyond natural strength, at the first shock of battle nearly all the Ternatans were killed, and the rest fled. Our men pursued them until they killed them all. The men of Tampaca, who had been neutral until then, in consideration of the dealings of Fortune, and seeing that she had declared in our favor, took up arms for us. Only seventy-seven Ternatans, badly wounded, escaped; and fifty of these were drowned in the river, into which they had thrown themselves in desperation. Only three of the twenty-seven survived, and they informed their king of it. The Spaniards seized the boats, artillery and spoils of the conquered, and became encouraged to continue the war against infidels.

Don Francisco Tello was not neglectful of other similar occurrences. He learned by his spies, and rumor had it, that the emperor of Japon was collecting a large army and preparing many boats for

it, and large supplies of arms and food. It was also learned that he was securing himself, by treaty, from the Chinese, of whom the Japanese, because of their natural enmity, live in fear. Hence they inferred that he was equipping himself to make war outside his kingdoms. He had negotiated and concluded alliances with the king of Ternate, and with other neighbors who were hostile to the Spanish crown. From all of those actions there resulted eager conjectures that all that tempest was threatening the Filipinas, and particularly their capital, Manila. The governor prepared his forces, and under pretext of saluting that barbaric emperor with a present, sent Captain Alderete to find out the truth. The ambassador left for Japon in July. At the same time, Don Francisco sent the galleon "San Felipe" to Nueva España with advice of those rumors. Those two vessels, that of Alderete and the "San Felipe," met in Japon, and the natives did not conceive well-disposed intents concerning them. Alderete learned thoroughly the forces and designs of the Japanese, and his efforts were of use in clearing up the apprehensions prevalent in Manila, and preventing unreasonable fears. He brought another splendid present to the governor, and both sides made provision for any possible outcome.

The Audiencia was again established in Manila in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight, for King Filipo was prudently conferring authority on that province. The auditors—Licentiates Zambrano, Mezcoa,²⁹⁰ and Tellez de Almazan— and Fiscal Geronymo Salazar y Salcedo, formed it.

[The same year when the Audiencia was reëstab-

²⁹⁰ This is an error or misprint for "Morga."

lished, Felipe II dies at the Escorial (September 13, 1598), and is succeeded by his son Felipe III. Neglect falls upon Molucca affairs:].

. . . . Now at this time Heaven was hastening the reduction of the Malucas, and the punishment of the persecution of the faithful, although the tyrants acted more insolently. But since the enterprise had to be prepared and executed in the Filipinas Islands, and determined and encouraged in the supreme Council of the Indias, it was advisable for the president and counselors to display some warmth in the cause – which by unhappy circumstances, as one despaired of, no one enlivened; and the papers of discussion and notices belonging to it were forgotten and heaped together.

[Meanwhile the alliance of Ternate with the English continues. Book vi ends with a tale of occurrences in the household of the king of Ternate.]

[The greater part of the seventh book is taken up with the translation or condensation from the Dutch relation of the first voyage of van Nek to the East Indies. A critical résumé of Erasmus's description of Holland and its people is given, which allows Argensola, as a churchman and good Catholic, to inveigh against the heresies and many religions of the Dutch. As a consequence of the Dutch expedition, the Ternatans gain new life in their opposition to the Portuguese and Spaniards. Frequent embassies are sent to Manila from the Portuguese and natives at Tidore, requesting aid for the Moluccas – which Francisco Tello was neglecting, as other matters appeared more important. One embassy, in charge of the brother of the king of Ti-

dore, is followed by another in charge of a Portuguese, Marcos Diaz de Febra, who presents a letter from the Tidore ruler to Dr. Morga. The embassy is successful, and in 1602 Diaz returns to Tidore with reënforcements and a promise of an expedition from Manila. In the Philippines themselves, the Chinese are continually congregating in greater numbers, and are rapidly becoming a menace, although the governor is blind to that fact, and claims that they are necessary to the well-being of the community.]

Conquest of the Malucas Islands

BOOK EIGHTH

[Molucca affairs are given considerable attention in the administration of Governor Pedro de Acuña. The petitions for aid, sent to the Philippines from those islands, continue. Tello is removed from the governorship, and Acuña sent to take his place. The latter is received in Manila (May, 1602) with great rejoicing, as his merits and reputation are well known. Tello's death occurs in Manila while waiting to give his residencia. Acuña enters into affairs with great energy. The narrative continues (p. 270):]

. . . . The new governor was pained at beholding the poverty of the royal chest and treasury, and himself under the obligation of preserving the king's and his own credit. The Malucas formed part of this consideration, for their reduction was a considerable part of his duty. But he reassured himself, believing that he might supply the lack of money by energy. He attended to matters personally, as was his custom, both those in Manila and those in

its vicinity. He built galleys and other boats, which were greatly needed for the defense of the sea, which was then infested by pirates and near-by enemies, especially the Mindanaos. He visited then the provinces of Pintados, and attended to the needs of those regions. In one of these visits, besides the storms suffered by his little vessel (which carried only three soldiers), another signal danger overtook him. Twenty-two English vessels, enriched with the booty that they had seized from the islands of that government, tried to attack and capture him. But for lack of a tide they remained stranded, and could not row. Don Pedro saw that they threw overboard more than two thousand of their many Spanish and islander captives in order to lighten themselves. They also threw overboard a beautiful Spanish girl seventeen years old. Later, the Manila fleet went in pursuit of them, and it was able to capture some of the pirates, and they were punished. But that punishment was much less than their cruelty.²⁹¹ Don Pedro tried to remove the hindrances to the enterprise that he was meditating, but had to delay for some months what he most wished to hasten, in order to despatch Joloan and Japanese matters.

Chiquiro, the Japanese ambassador, had recently arrived in Manila, bearing a present of the products and industries of those kingdoms, and letters; he also had orders to negotiate for friendship with the governor, and commerce between the Japanese emperor (by name Daifusama) and the Filipinas and Nueva España. The proximity of those provinces, the power of the Japanese kings, their natural disposi-

²⁹¹ See Morga's account of this, where it appears that these were not English, but native Moro boats.

tions, and other circumstances which experience showed to be worthy of serious consideration, demanded that that commerce be not refused – although, for the same reasons, the opinion was expressed that it was not advisable. But since that barbarian had once espoused that desire, it was not easy to find a means to settle the matter without causing jealousy or anger. Dayfusama requested then that the Spaniards trade in Quanto, a port of one of his own provinces; that they establish friendship, so that the Japanese could go to Nueva España; that the governor send him masters and workmen to build ships for him in Japon, in order to continue that navigation. Dayfusama insisted upon this, having been persuaded by one of our religious of the Order of St. Francis, one Fray Geronymo de Jesus, whom the Japanese king esteemed greatly. This was a serious matter, and in many ways most damaging to the Filipinas. In those islands, the greatest security against those provinces has consisted for many years in the lack of ships and pilots among the Japanese, together with their ignorance of the art of navigation. It has been observed by experts that, whenever that insolent barbarian has shown any intention to arm against Manila, he has been prevented by this obstacle. Consequently to send him workmen and masters to build Spanish vessels for him, would be equivalent to providing him weapons against the Spaniards themselves; and the navigation of the Japanese would be the prelude to the destruction of Filipinas and Nueva España, while long voyages by the Japanese were inadvisable, and moreover contrary to safety. Considering all these reasons, Governor Don Pedro de

Acuña ordered the ambassador Chiquiro to be entertained splendidly. He gave him some presents for his king and for himself, and despatched a vessel with another present—a moderate one, so that it might not argue fear, as it would if he took too much. It sailed together with the ship of Dayfusama and his ambassador, both being filled with articles of barter. The letters of Don Pedro contained long compliments at his pleasure in procuring the establishment of greater friendship. But he said that, although he had received full power from King Filipe for things pertaining to the government of Filipinas, that part of the king's embassy touching his request for sailors and the building of Spanish ships he was unable to decide, until he should inform the viceroy of Nueva España; nor could the viceroy decide it without special orders from his Majesty. He promised the Japanese king to write about it for him, and to aid the accomplishment of so just a desire. But he warned him that it would be necessary to wait more than three years for the furtherance and resolution of the matter, because of the distance and accidents of so long voyages. It was ordered that the same Fray Geronymo himself should deliver all this message to Dayfusama. Geronymo de Jesus was written to in secret, instructing and reproving him. He was ordered to tell the Japanese monarch that the governor esteemed his good will exhibited toward the commerce and friendship of the Spaniards, and his own great desire for them. He was to encourage him to keep the peace, which the governor himself would keep without any infringement. But he was ordered subtly to divert the king's mind from similar desires and propositions, and not to

facilitate any of them; for although perhaps there were no hidden deceit in the then reigning monarch, or any interest greater than that of friendship, it might cause great harm in times of a less well-intentioned successor, who might abuse the navigation, and turn it against those who taught it to them. The governor promised to send another ship soon to trade. Fray Geronymo was to give the king hopes that some Spanish masters of Spanish boats would sail in it. Dayfusama was to be patient, and should consider how offended he would be, if his servants were to open up any new commerce without consulting him, or without his order.

With this despatch Chiquiro returned to Japon in his ship. . . .

[A storm however overtakes him near Formosa, and his ship is wrecked and he and his men drowned, the event being learned only long after. "Daifusama, being persuaded by Fray Geronymo, had granted leave for our religion to be preached in his kingdoms, to build our churches, and for all who wished to profess our religion with public authority." Accordingly the orders send various missionaries to different districts of Japan. "Many persuaded Don Pedro not to send away these religious, but, although those persuasions were well founded, and obstacles put in the way of their departure, it was determined to allow them to go. . . . These religious did not find in the provinces proof of the desires that had been told them. Very few Japanese were converted, and fewer were disposed toward it, for the king and tonos [chiefs] . . . did not love our religion." Don Pedro sends the promised ship to Japan laden with "dye-wood, deerskins,

raw silk, and various other articles." Thus Japanese demands are met, and the emperor is satisfied with the diplomatic answer returned to him. Meanwhile "Don Pedro's thought bore on the recovery of the Malucas." Letters pass between him and the Portuguese commander Andrea Furtado de Mendoza in regard to the expedition, and aid from the Philippines, and the hostilities of the Dutch. (The Jesuit brother Gaspar Gomez had been sent by Acuña from Mexico to Spain, to show the necessity and advantages of the expedition; after various delays it was set on foot, and Furtado obtained many successes in Amboina, where he had some encounters with the Dutch. The king of Ternate asked help from Java and Mindanao.)]

The season and necessity compelled General Furtado to request urgently the help that was being prepared in Filipinas. Amboino is eighty leguas from those islands. Accordingly he sent Father Andres Pereyra, a Jesuit, and Captain Antonio Brito Fogaço, in May of the year one thousand six hundred and two. They reached Cebù July twenty-five. They sailed thence for Manila, August six, and entered that city September five. Don Pedro de Acuña rejoiced greatly over their arrival. He asked them – so great was his desire and interest, or rather, his noble rivalry – minutely concerning the expeditions of General Furtado. Since the latter had referred to them in his letters, they gave an extended relation of them, and executed his embassy, each one fulfilling the office that he professed. Don Pedro did not delay the sending [of reënforcements.] He assembled the council of war, where it was resolved to send Furtado the help that he requested, without

delay, although they felt obliged to accommodate themselves to the necessities of the country. Following this decision the governor sent a message to the provinces of Pintados ordering captain Juan Xuarez Gallinato, chief of them, to provide all necessities for the expedition, and himself to sail with his best disciplined infantry from Cebù to the city of Arevalo, the place assigned for assembling the fleet. Gallinato did this, and also sent a vessel to Otòn to lade as much as possible of the supplies. It reached Otón October twenty-eight, and the same day Don Pedro left Manila for Pintados, in order, by his presence, to inspire greater haste in the despatch of the fleet, which was already almost ready in Otón. He arrived there November thirteen. So fiery was his spirit that he assembled the reënforcement and entrusted it to Juan Xuarez Gallinato – without allowing the expeditions from Xolo and Mindanao to embarrass him, even though he saw the natives of those islands, divided into different bodies among the Pintados, pillaging and murdering his Majesty's vassals – and appointed him general and commander of that expedition.

[Furtado, after asking the reënforcement from Acuña, goes to the Moluccas. Some of his men are defeated in a naval engagement with the natives, whereupon Furtado builds a fort at the friendly island of Machian.]

After the fleet, military stores and food had been collected, they were delivered to Gallinato by the auditors and fiscal of the Audiencia. The supplies consisted of one thousand fanegas of cleaned rice, three hundred head of cattle, two hundred jars of wine, eighty quintals of nails and bolts, forty quintals

of powder, three hundred Ylocos blankets, seven hundred varas of Castilian wool, one hundred sail-needles, and thirty jugs of oil. The men amounted to two hundred soldiers – one hundred and sixty-five arquebusiers and thirty-five musketeers – twenty-two sailors, several pilots, one master, three artillerymen in the “Santa Potenciana,” and twenty common seamen. The monthly expense of all that equipment amounted to twenty-two thousand two hundred and sixty pesos. This having been done on the part of the governor and Audiencia, they required Father Andres Pereyra and Captain Brito to go with the reënforcement – which Gallinato had ready, with its colors, and with Captains Christoval Villagrà and Juan Fernandez de Torres. The company of Captain Don Tomas Bravo, the governor’s nephew, son of Don Garcia his brother, was left behind; but the captain went, and served bravely on the expedition. The infantry was taken on the ship “Sancta Potenciana,” and on the fragatas “Santo Anton,” “San Sebastian,” “San Buenaventura,” and “San Francisco.” The fleet left the port of Yloilo January twenty, one thousand six hundred and three, and reached La Caldera in Mindanao the twenty-fifth. They remained there until the twenty-eighth, as they had some information concerning those enemies. Then they sailed toward Maluco, and sighted the island of Siao February seven, and at dawn of the next day that of Taolân, four leguas from Siao. There the fragata “Sant Anton” was wrecked on a shoal of the island, which gave greater anxiety to the fleet. Gallinato made efforts so that the men should not perish. He sent Captain Villagrà, who saved them, as well as the weapons and the pieces of artillery;

the rest was left in the sea. They continued their voyage and sighted the island of Ternate February thirteen. On the fourteenth they entered that of Tydore, where they heard of Andres Furtado's arrival. There they rested but little, in order to join him sooner. Sailing thence with a good breeze they reached Ternate, and made harbor at Talangame, one legua from the fortress, on the sixteenth of the same month. The fleets saluted one another with tokens of friendly regard, and the generals did the same.

[The active campaign soon begins, and notwithstanding some few successes in the siege of Ternate by Furtado and Gallinato, sickness, and want of ammunition and provisions, compel the Portuguese commander to withdraw before the superior forces and equipment of the Ternatans. Thereupon Gallinato and his men return to the Philippines via Tidore, while Furtado intends going to Amboina and perhaps to Malaca. About April of this same year the Jesuit brother, Gaspar Gomez, reaches Spain, to argue before the Council of the Indias the necessity of an effective expedition from the Philippines. There it is agreed that Acuña shall undertake one in person. The following year a letter received from Acuña by the council describes the ill-success of Furtado's expedition and the necessity for an effective expedition from the Philippines, a synopsis of the letter being given by our author.]

Conquest of the Malucas Islands

BOOK NINTH

[The action of the council finally secured the king's

assent to the Molucca expedition, and the following decree was sent to Acuña:]

. . . . Don Pedro de Acuña, my governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands, and president of my royal Audiencia therein. On September twenty of the past year, six hundred and three, I wrote you by an advice-boat on which Gaspar Gomez, of the Society of Jesus, took passage for Nueva España, my resolution in regard to what you wrote me from Nueva España, when you went to take charge of that office, about the Ternate expedition. In accordance with that resolution, I have ordered a contingent of five hundred men to be collected in these kingdoms, which are to be conveyed in the trading fleet that sails to Nueva España this year. I wrote to the viceroy to have another five hundred men enlisted so that, at the very least, eight hundred men could be sent you for this enterprise. I have appointed four captains for the contingent from these kingdoms. One of them, namely, Admiral Juan de Esquivel, is to be commander and governor of the said soldiers. I have also appointed six substitutes, practiced and experienced soldiers, so that, in case any of the said captains die, these may take command of the men, and that they may be in charge of the companies to be raised in Nueva España, as I am writing to the viceroy. I have assigned forty ducados per month as pay to the said captains; to Admiral Juan de Esquivel the sum of sixty; and to the substitutes, twenty-five escudos apiece until they reach Nueva España. Thenceforward the said Juan de Esquivel, in case I order him to be given the title of master-of-camp, shall enjoy the sum of one hundred and twenty ducados per month; but if he

serves with the title of commander and governor of the said soldiers, he shall have sixty. The substitutes shall receive forty; and the soldiers – both those levied in España and those to be raised in Nueva España – shall have the sum of eight ducados per month. I have ordered the viceroy, in accordance with the above, to send to those islands the necessary money to meet the pay of the soldiers for one year. If they are detained longer in other affairs of my service, he shall also furnish what may be necessary after advice from you. I have thought it best to advise you of the above, in order to charge and order you that, if the pay of the soldiers can be moderated, in respect to what is there paid men of that rank, you may reform the schedule justifiably, advising me thereof, and the viceroy of Nueva España. However, you shall make no alteration in the pay of Admiral Juan de Esquivel, or of the captains, alférezes, or substitutes. I have also ordered the viceroy to provide you with whatever may be necessary, up to the amount of the one hundred and twenty thousand ducados that you have asked for this undertaking; also six pieces of artillery for bombardment, and five hundred quintals of arquebus powder. The men sent from here are armed with muskets and arquebuses. You shall be careful in the distribution of this money, and in all the rest you shall exercise the advisable care, system, and caution. You shall endeavor to attain the end sought, as I confidently expect from you, with the men sent from España, and those from Nueva España, together with those whom you shall have collected in those islands for the expedition to Ternate. If possible, you shall make the expedition in person, as you have

offered to do, and shall leave those islands provided as it fitting. In case conditions are such that you cannot go in person, on this expedition, then you shall appoint another man of the experience and qualities requisite for it, who may take entire charge of it; and for this I grant you authority. It is my will that, in case of your death while on the expedition, or through any other cause, or the death of the person whom you may appoint for it, Admiral Juan de Esquivel succeed in it and continue it. All the sea and land forces who shall take part in the said expedition, shall obey him as they would yourself. I declare that, in this event, and in case of your death, and the succession of the said Juan de Esquivel to the charge of the expedition, he shall be subject and subordinate to my royal Audiencia in those islands. The captains in whose charge is the infantry raised in these kingdoms, I have selected as worthy men who have served. Accordingly I charge and order you that you honor and favor them as far as possible, for in that I shall consider myself served. You shall not dismiss them or deprive them of their companies to give these to others, without just cause, unless it be to appoint them to better offices. However, if they should commit crimes you may punish them, as their superior. It is supposed that by the time of the arrival of these soldiers at those islands – and they shall leave Nueva España in the first vessels, after the arrival of the trading fleet there – you will have matters so well in hand that you may begin the expedition immediately. I charge you straitly to do with circumspectness, consideration, and caution what I expect from so gallant a soldier. These men are to be well disciplined and drilled, and every-

thing so ordered that the desired and so important effect may be gained, for you see the risk in this and its expense. You shall endeavor, as I charge you, to have the advisable care and order taken in the efficient distribution and collection of my revenues, and the avoidance of superfluous expense. Of the course of events you shall keep me advised on all occasions. After recovering the fort of Ternate, you shall place there and on the island the garrison necessary for its safety. I have ordered the viceroy of Nueva España, if he has any opportunity for it, to advise you as soon as the men raised here arrive there [*i.e.*, in Nueva España], and that he report clearly to you the contingent enlisted in that country, and that will be raised in any other way, as well as the time that they will leave there, so that you may take the necessary precautions concerning them from those islands. If you consider it advisable for these men to stop anywhere and not to go to Manila, you shall so order it, or give any other orders that you deem most advisable, in anything. Valladolid, June twenty, one thousand six hundred and four.

After the above decree was sent, its dispositions began to be carried out in España. Before this, in the preceding year one thousand six hundred and three, while governor Don Pedro was occupied in the preparations necessary for this purpose [*i.e.*, of the expedition], an accident occurred in Filipinas which threatened their loss and other greater misfortunes. In the month of April a fire broke out in Manila and burnt the richest part and more than half of the city, and it was impossible to keep the goods from burning which had been discharged from the ships recently arrived from Nueva España,

which were being kept in the most secure of the houses. Two hundred and seventy houses, wood and stone, were burned, and even the monastery of St. Dominic (both house and church), the royal Spanish hospital, and the magazines; and not a single edifice was left standing in the burned area. Fourteen Spaniards were burned, among whom was Licentiate Sanz, canon of the cathedral, together with some Indians and negroes. The loss was estimated at one million. . . .

[The incident of the coming of the three Chinese mandarins and their pretense of looking for an island of gold is described. This with certain rumors, readily believed, leads to the outbreak of feeling against the Chinese or Sangleys resident in Manila and other parts of the island. That same year (1603), the insurrection by them takes active shape. Argensola's account is substantially the same as that of other writers. He traces the insurrection during its rise, and progress, and the retreat of the Sangleys, with the consequent slaughters of those people. The following extracts and synopses are made from his account:]

At the time when Governor Don Pedro was attending most closely to the war with Maluco, there occurred in Manila a circumstance such that it might not only have suspended the war, but extinguished the entire province. A man was residing in Manila who had remained there when the great pirate Limaon (of whose history popular accounts are current) came against the city. He was formerly an idolater, and, as was reported, served the pirate for a lewd purpose. His name was Encàn, and he was a native of Semygua in the province of Chincheo.

He was baptized during Santiago de Vera's term, and took the latter's surname, being called Baptista de Vera. He proved sagacious, industrious, and of efficacious energy, by means of which, exercising his trading, he came to possess great wealth and to have influence with the governors of Filipinas. Through his arrangements the Sangleys negotiated with Don Pedro, asking his consent to finish a parapet of the wall that he was completing, at their own cost; for they, as a portion of the commonwealth, wished to do this service for his Majesty. Each of them offered four reals for the work. This service and the thanks of the citizens, whom Encàn or Baptista had bought by benefits, destroyed or decreased the suspicions conceived against their conspiracy. He was respected by the Spaniards and loved by the Sangleys. He had twice been their governor, and had many adopted sons and dependents. . . . Near the Parián was another district inhabited by Japanese, a race hostile to the Sangleys, with whom they are at constant war in their own country. The governor summoned their headmen, and sounded them by kind methods, as he wished to know how to depend on them on any occasion, and if they would help against the Chinese if war came. The Japanese, puffed up by the confidence that he placed in them, and elated that time would give them an opportunity to fight against their enemy, answered that they were ready to die with the Spaniards. Some trouble arose from this wise effort, and as the Japanese kept the secret badly, or referred to it with exaggeration, it became public that Don Pedro was going to kill the Sangleys with their help. Some of the Japanese told them that, so that the Sangleys could flee and

pay them for the warning. Many Sangleys tried to take to the mountains, while all were in fear. Those who wished to revolt were able to persuade the others to do the same, and to quiet the anxious by promises. In fact, the greater portion of them determined to rebel, and assigned St. Francis's day for the beginning of the insurrection, at the hour when the Christians would be busied in their churches, in the holy feast. Some said that the time assigned for it was during the night, when twenty-five thousand of them would enter the city and behead our men. Some indications of it escaped, notwithstanding their secrecy. Juan de Talavera, parish priest of the hamlet of Quiapo, informed the archbishop that an Indian woman, with whom a Sangley was in love, had revealed to him the plot for St. Francis's day. . . .

. . . All these advices and some others were learned immediately by the governor and the royal Audiencia. It would be sufficient to see the haste with which the Chinese sold everything, even to their shoes, and adjusted their debts — although this was interpreted rather as a design to go away than one of treason. In order to relieve them from fear of the Spaniards and Japanese, the governor talked to them himself, and had the pledge of safety and the royal faith published anew in all districts. But no effort could quiet them. Three days before that of St. Francis, more than four hundred Anhay merchants remained in the city, because they had been unable to sell their goods. These, upon seeing the others in confusion because of the report that the Spaniards and Japanese were about to kill them, sent their embassy to Don Pedro by one Chicàn, also an Anhay or Chincheo. . . . He came at night, be-

ing in fear of the other Chinese. He communicated their fears to the governor and their present uncertainty; and stated that they did not know what resolution to take, and consequently came to him for advice and protection. The governor, after hearing him and having completely assured him with his answer, went next day personally to talk to Chicàn's companions, and satisfied them with affectionate words, saying that the Spanish nation is not accustomed to execute or to consent to such deceits. After this talk they were quieted, but those who had evil intentions were not satisfied. . . .

[At the first outbreak of the insurrection, Encàn is sent to reassure and quiet the Sangleys. He returns very late "telling Don Pedro that he had been in danger of being elected their chief, and that they wished to force him to accept it." In the slaughter of Don Luis Dasmariñas and his men which soon follows, over thirty Spaniards manage to escape. The Japanese aid the Spaniards, while the Sangleys try to induce all their countrymen of the Parián to join them.]

The few Sangleys in the Parián caused the Spaniards no less anxiety than the many in the fort, both because they had them for so near neighbors and as they supposed that if these saw our cause declining, they would join their countrymen. Besides, it was known that the insurgents had sent to ask those in the Parián to join them, and had advised them of the Spaniards whom they had killed. This was declared by a Sangley, who was caught while crossing the river by swimming, by the sentinel of the river-boats. He, confessing, when put to the torture, that he was a spy, and that he gave and carried messages, was be-

headed. On the other side, it was considered that although it would lessen the anxiety to kill all the Sangleys or to attempt it, it did not appear a just punishment toward people of whose crime they were uncertain—much more so, since they had come to Filipinas to conduct their trading in good faith, and the governor had given them his word for their safety if they were quiet and did not mix in the rebellion. . . .

[It is finally resolved to induce the peaceful Sangleys to take refuge in the Augustinian convent. However, they refuse to take advantage of the offer, although some put their goods in safety. Meanwhile the hostile Sangleys attempt to incite them to join their ranks, and on their refusal, turn upon them "and kill more than two hundred." Encàn is found concealed in a house for fear of capture, whereupon he confesses his part in the rebellion. The religious take up arms against the insurgents, notable among them being Fray Antonio Flores, an Augustinian lay-brother, and formerly a soldier: he is credited with having slain six hundred Sangleys in the final slaughter. The Chinese, after driving in an attacking party of five hundred men under Gallinato, assault the walls of the city, but are finally driven back with great slaughter. Their Parián is burned, and they begin their retreat, going to San Pablo and other districts, pursued by the Spaniards and natives, who kill immense crowds of them and disperse the rest. Spaniards, Japanese, and Pampangos are sent out under Sargento-mayor Azcueta, and the insurrection is crushed with terrible slaughter; "for the Japanese and natives are so ferocious that nothing can restrain them." The final result of the last campaign

shows that only "slightly more than one hundred [of the Sangleys] survived, who were kept alive for the galleys. Eight natives and six Japanese died on our side in these two battles [*i.e.*, the slaughters of the pursuit]. No Spaniard was killed, although many were wounded." Encàn is "hanged and quartered, his head exposed on the site of the Parián, and his goods confiscated; and in the days following, justice gave the same punishment to other guilty Chinese." The insurrection costs the lives of more than twenty-three thousand Chinese and only five hundred are left for the galleys. "Some say that the number of Sangleys killed was greater, but in order that the illegality in admitting so many into the country contrary to royal prohibitions might not be seen, the officials concealed or diminished the numbers of those that perished."]

Don Pedro had had some advices of how well affected his Majesty was to the enterprise of Maluco. Awaiting the effects of that decision, he wrote by all the ways possible; and by India, to solicit those who had charge of the matter. Relieved from the hindrance caused by the Sangleys, he turned his mind to the preparation and equipment of the fleet, for the time when he should be ordered to set out. But the end of this war was the beginning of other needs for Manila. Mechanical trades were stopped, and there was no work or provisions. Prices of food increased with their lack. All supplies had been formerly in great abundance, and were obtained through the Sangleys, for the Indian natives lack the willingness and the energy for such work. The cultivation of the land, the care of raising fowls, the weaving of cloth, all of which industries they had exercised in their old

days of infidelity, they had forgotten. Especially was the Pariàn or Alcayceria wasted by fire and sword. It was once so full of gain and abundance that Don Pedro wrote to one of his relatives in España, a short time after his arrival at Manila, these following words of it: "This city is remarkable for the size of its buildings, which have surprised me. I shall mention only one, which is the chief one. It has an Alcayceria that contains all kinds of silks and gold, and mechanical trades; and for these things there are more than four hundred shops, and generally more than eight thousand men who trade therein. When the trading fleets come from China with their merchandise, which is the present time of the year, there are always more than thirteen or fourteen thousand men. They bring wonderful things, that are not found in Europa." Besides this, Don Pedro feared that the chastisement inflicted in the slaughter would discourage the intercourse of the Sangleys with us, and that the vessels that were wont to come from China with food would not come. Greater and universal was the fear that in place of trading ships, armed vessels would come to avenge the Sangleys. Don Pedro sent the prior of Manila, Fray Diego de Guevara, to España by way of India, with advices of the deed and of his fears. The incidents that befell him on his voyage in India itself, and in Persia, Turquia, and Italia, forced him to delay three years before he could reach the court, where he found other despatches already arrived.

At the same time Don Pedro sent Captain Marcos de la Cueva, together with Fray Luis Gandullo, a Dominican, to Macao – a city of China, where Portuguese reside – with letters for the commandant and

council of that city, advising them of the rebellion of the Sangleys, and of its result, so that they might advise him by all ways, at any rumor of an armed fleet in China. They took letters also for the tutons, hay-taos, and inspectors of the provinces of Canton and Chincheo, giving account of the transgression of the Chinese, and how it obliged the Spaniards to inflict so severe a punishment. The ambassadors found the country quiet upon their arrival, although some fugitive Sangleys, fleeing from Manila in champans, had related the disturbances among them. The arrival of those Spanish at Macao was learned in Chincheo. Immediately some of the most wealthy captains who ordinarily go to Manila, whose names were Guansàn, Sinú, and Guachuan, went to see them. Having understood the truth of the matter, they took upon themselves [the delivery of] the message sent to the mandarins by Don Pedro, and the mandarins received it by their means. The Chincheo merchants determined to return to their trade at Filipinas, and left Macao in their vessels with our ambassadors, taking a quantity of powder, saltpeter and lead, with which the public magazines were supplied. In the following May, thirteen Chinese ships made port at Manila, and afterward many others returned thither to continue that commerce. Don Pedro sent to Nueva España the vessels that had brought the relief for the islands. The flagship foundered and not a person or a plank escaped. He did not cease at this time to store the city with provisions and ammunition, in order to find himself free for the expedition to Maluco. At this juncture, Master-of-camp Juan de Esquivel came from Mexico with six hundred soldiers, with the report that more men, money, and

other preparations of arms, food, and ammunition were being collected in Nueva España, at the order of his Majesty; these all arrived at Manila in due season. At that time died its great archbishop, Don Miguel de Benavides, to the universal sorrow of the country.

The Chinese ships that returned for the trade bore letters to the governor in reply to his despatch. Three letters of one tenor came from the tuton or viceroy, the haytao, and the inspector-general of the province of Chincheo. Translated by the interpreters into Spanish, they read as follows:

[See this letter in VOL. XIII, pp. 287-291 of this series.]

The governor answered these letters by the same messengers, making use of terms of courtesy and authority.²⁹² He related the rebellion of the Sangleys from its inception. He justified the defense of the Spaniards, and the punishment inflicted upon the delinquents. He says that no community can govern without punishing those who are evil, any more than by not rewarding the blameless. Consequently he does not repent of what was done, as it was to check him who was trying to destroy us. The inspector should consider what he should do, if any similar case happened in China. What he was sorry for was in not having been able to save any of the Anhays among the Sangley merchants, who perished among the guilty. But it was impossible to prevent that,

²⁹² The governor's letter is given by Argensola partly in synopsis, and partly in direct quotation. The latter we enclose in quotation marks. See in VOL. XIV (pp. 44-50) this letter, translated from the MS. preserved in the Sevilla archives; that is apparently at least a duplicate of the original letter to the Chinese official, and one of the despatches sent to Spain by Acuña.

for the violence of war does not allow some to be killed and others exempted, especially since they were unknown to the soldiers in the heat of war. Employing clemency toward those captured alive, he condemned them to row in the galleys, which is the punishment substituted by the Castilians for those who merit death. However, if they in China thought that the punishment should be lessened, he would give them liberty. "But it should be noted," says Don Pedro, "that this might be the cause that, if so serious a crime were unpunished, they would fall into it a second time, a thing that would close all the gates to kindness. The goods of the Chinese killed are in deposit. And in order that it may be seen that I am not moved by any other zeal than that of justice, I shall have these immediately delivered to their heirs, or to those to whom they rightfully pertain. I am not moved to any of these things by any consideration other than that of right. To tell me that if I do not free the prisoners, permission will be given, to the relatives in China of those who were killed in the rebellion, to come with a fleet to Manila, causes no disturbance in my mind; for I consider the Chinese as so sensible a race, that they will not be incited to such things with little foundation, and especially since we have, on our side, given them no occasion for it. In case any other resolution is followed, we Spaniards are people who know how to defend our rights, religion, and country very well. And do not let the Chinese consider themselves lords of all the world, as they give out; for we Castilians, who have measured it with palmos, know with exactness the lands of China, where it will be well to know that the king of España

has continual wars with kings as powerful as their own [*i.e.*, the Chinese king], and subdues them and inflicts great troubles upon them. It is no new case, when our enemies imagine that we are defeated, to find us desolating and destroying the confines of their lands, and not ceasing until we have hurled them from their thrones and taken away their scepters. I would be very sorry for a change in trade, but I also believe that the Chinese do not wish to lose it, since so great gain accrues from it, and the Chinese take to their kingdom so much of our silver, which is never diminished in amount, in exchange for their merchandise, which is composed of poor articles that are soon worn out." The English ships that reached the coast of China, he was determined not to receive, for they are not Spaniards, but their enemies, and are pirates. Consequently if they came to Manila they would be punished. "Finally, because we Spaniards always justify our causes, and we pride ourselves on the fact that no one in the world can say that we usurp other men's possessions or make war on our friends, all that is herein promised will be fulfilled. And hereafter let those in China understand that we never do anything through fear, or because of the threats of our enemies." Don Pedro concludes by offering to continue the friendship with the kingdoms of China by new bonds of peace, saying that he would release the prisoners in his galleys in due time, although he first intended to make use of them, as he did, in the expedition of Maluco, which would soon be despatched. All this he strictly observed.

Don Pedro received other letters during those same days from the emperor of Japon, in which, after thanking him for a present of grape wine – besides

other rich presents – that Don Pedro had sent him, he earnestly requested commerce. . . .

[This letter, of which Argensola presents a mere synopsis, is given complete by Morga, *q.v. ante.*]

In this same year, one thousand six hundred and four, the islands of Holanda and Zelanda, in pursuance of their custom, assembled a fleet of twelve vessels, large and well equipped, and some smaller ones; and, as if masters of sea and wind, steered their course toward India by the known routes. In a short time they reached the cape of Buena Esperança. All the captains had gone at other times on that voyage, and the pilots esteemed themselves of no less experience. Their general was Estevan Drage,²⁹³ faithless alike to his church and to his king. . . .

[Thence this fleet continues its course along Mosambique, India, and neighboring shores, Java, Sumatra, etc., taking prizes and trading. In February, 1605, they capture Amboina, where they receive the submission of the Portuguese and allow religious freedom. Finally part of the vessels go to the Moluccas, where, with the aid of the king of Ternate, the fort of Tidore is captured – although the Portuguese are warned beforehand of their coming by English vessels (for the Spanish and English kings were then friends), and the English leave powder and shot for its defense. Some Portuguese leave the island, “many going to the Filipinas, where Governor Don Pedro interviewed them in order to learn the condition of affairs at Maluco.” The narrative continues:]

²⁹³ This Dutch commander, was Steven van der Hagen, and this his second voyage to East Indian waters. See vol. xv, appendix B.

One of those who escaped from the fort of Tydore, and reached the town of Arevalo in Filipinas, was Antonio de Silva, a Portuguese. Besides being a soldier he was a *naguatato* or interpreter. This man gave a judicial account of the matter and added that the English [*i. e.*, Dutch] general, while taking him a prisoner from Amboino, took a sea-chart, and began to look for Mindoro, Manila, and Cabite. Being asked by Silva, for what purpose he was looking for them, he learned that the general intended, in case his undertaking at Maluco did not succeed well, to try to capture one of the vessels plying between Filipinas and Nueva España. Silva replied to him that it was not time for those vessels to sail, either way; for the first [*i. e.*, those from Nueva España], arrive about May ten, and the others [*i. e.*, those going to Nueva España], sail June ten. Notwithstanding, this was the end or desire of the Dutchman's navigation; for he determined to get information in Mindoro, to depart thence to Macàn, to send an ambassador to China, and to avenge the insult offered by Don Pablos of Portugal in those provinces. Thence he would lade pepper in Patane, then see if he could defeat the Chinese ships at the strait of Sincapura [*i. e.*, Singapore] on their way to Malaca; and at all events, continue along that same route his return to Holanda, laden with wealth. All this did the Dutch general communicate to Antonio de Silva, as to one who would go to Holanda with him; for he was a soldier and a skilled interpreter of both languages, and Estevan Drage made much of him for that reason. Certain others who had fought and escaped the slaughter of Tydore confirmed this news. Don Pedro learned it,

and grieved over it, as he was so zealous in the service of the Church and of his king. He considered sorrowfully when he saw that not even one turret of a fortress was left in Maluco to the crown of España, and how securely a rebel to God and to his legitimate sovereign held them. And because the prosperity of Dutch affairs made the Dutch powerful and determined, the governor assembled his council of war, and appointed Captains Antonio Freyle, chief of the fleet of Pintados, Pedro Sevil, Estevan de Alcaçar, and Bernardino Alfonso to go to the garrisons of the Pintados and those of other islands that were in danger, with their infantry companies. He strengthened the ships, and prepared his artillery, as if he were near a victorious enemy who was executing his threats with so great success. Antonio de Silva showed an original letter from another Dutch general, written in the island of Borneo to the king of Ternate, sent by Philipo Bissegóp, a ship captain. In it the general expressed his compliments and sent him a present of a number of varas of different fine cloths from Holanda, six bales containing vessels of musk, twelve flasks of rose water, six *arrates* ²⁹⁴ of *Amfíon* ²⁹⁵ – a Dutch compound used, as above stated, for fighting, which takes away or disturbs the reason – and six barrels of powder. He gave the king an account of the unfortunate voyage, and the obstacles, storms, and dangers that Andres Furtado had until his arrival at Malaca after leaving Ternate. He called the king “most serene prince and powerful king of Maluco, Bandas, Amboino,” and an infinite number of other islands. He congratulated him on the success at-

²⁹⁴ A Portuguese pound, containing sixteen ounces.

²⁹⁵ *Anfon*: a name given to opium in the East Indies.

tained upon his arrival at Maluco. He promised him to go to Ternate with the greater forces that he was awaiting from Holanda, and garrison the forts, in order to extirpate entirely their common enemy, the king of España. He encouraged him by this hope to hold out until then. He assured him that he would overrun all those seas from Maluco, and would extend his empire to China, without any opposition from the Filipinos or Japanese. For this purpose he requested the king [of Borneo] to renew friendship with Mindanao, and to give the king of those islands to understand that he was a friend to the Dutch, and consequently to facilitate the ports, commerce, and friendships that were necessary for their voyages. That was what was advisable above all considerations of the state. He said that he should be warned and assured that nothing was attended to with more lukewarmness in España, than to strive or attempt to preserve the greater part of their provinces, or at least, any form of union. Therefore, all the farthest colonies that recognized their crown, ought to esteem highly the delay with which they help and deliberate from España. For while they are believing, or examining in order to believe, the news of events, affairs are assuming another condition; and hence neither Spanish counsels nor arms arrive in time. The greater part of these things had been taught to his Highness by experience, and the writer's desire to serve him obliged him to write those things to the king. Antonio de Sylva added that he knew with certainty that the king of Ternate had not neglected to take any of the precautions that the Dutchman asked him to take; and that he had even proposed to his men to go to fight far from their

islands. Although it was never feared that they would be bold enough to do so, on that occasion Don Pedro was made more anxious by this information, because the city had been left so weakened by the Sangley affair. He was trying, moreover, to supply their lack, so that the late evils might not again happen; for it was so necessary to further by another road the trade of Filipinas, and to provide for its domestic security, in order to be able to take the field.

But time, which is wont both to take away and to give hopes, consoled Don Pedro in those afflictions, and brought him in a few months from Nueva España some ships of private persons, and afterward, in good season, the ships of the regular trading fleet. They reached Manila on St. Matthew's eve. In them were the Spaniards who left España for that undertaking, together with more than two hundred others whom the viceroy of Nueva España, the Marques de Montesclaros, sent to Don Pedro, together with the other military stores and money, in accordance with the royal decree. Some of this came in charge of Brother Gaspar Gomez, who was received with incredible joy. He presented to the governor all his despatches. Care was immediately taken to lodge the captains and soldiers, and assign them quickly to their stations, so that all might believe that the only thing intended with them was the safety of the Filipinas, which were threatened by the emperor of Japon and by the conspiracies of the Sangleys. Corroboration of this report was sent in various directions that it might increase and be disseminated outside the kingdom, in order not to give information to those whom the Spaniards had reason to fear. Be-

sides, although the report of that great preparation was useful to the Spaniards in opinion and in conjectures, yet the actual strength of the forces with which the country was supplied, besides the reputation of our affairs, acted for defense and security in them all. In Japon the knowledge alone that Manila was full of infantry and of armed vessels tempered or dispelled the irritation felt by their king because Don Pedro denied him shipbuilders. The Chincheos also refrained from attempting vengeance on an enemy whose victories were followed by so great succor. Don Pedro considered the whole question, and inferred from every one of these advices that he could absent himself from Manila. However the king of Ternate, as one overjoyed at having escaped from the Spanish yoke, paid little heed to all that was told him from his neighboring kingdoms, for he thought that the Spaniards were never to return to their former possessions. The captains of Holanda, who rebuilt the burned fortress in Tydore, sent him some large bronze cannon, culverins, and a considerable number of muskets; and sent him some engineers from those who came on those ships, so that they might inspect his fortifications and reside in them or in his city. Some accepted that abode, and the loose and irreligious liberty of life permitted in that country. There, by reason of the many trading-posts and fleets from the north, they lived as if they were not outside their own countries, since they had intercourse with their kinsmen and friends, or at least with men of their nation. Exiled Castilians and Portuguese reached the port of Oton in Filipinas daily. Among them was Pablo de Lima, a man of long experience, and

now general of artillery in Tydore. He added to the news of the recent destruction, the joy with which the Dutch disinterred the pieces that he had tried to hide, and how they had sent ashore more arms and forces from their ships. This man was received with great honor because of his worth, and because he was one of those dispossessed, by the king of Ternate, of vassals and other property in Tydore. For later events, they profited by his warnings and advice. All, by various employments, although with equal desire, took part in the furtherance of the war – in building ships, and collecting provisions, arms, and ammunition. So great was Don Pedro's vigilance that he was not wanting in the least duty with example and encouragement. Consequently, it may be asserted that he carried on the whole enterprise; for he lent a hand in the labors of all.

Conquest of the Malucas Islands

BOOK TENTH

In human actions the moral doctrine is hidden; and judicious writers are wont to deduce this from the relation of events, as the fruit of their history. But in writing of the conquest and conservation of barbarous lands (which is founded on navigations and garrisons), what civil precepts of those who establish and compose the political life – however sagacious statecraft may have made them – can we bring to the reader's view? And what can be offered in this matter that the reader could not infer as a necessary consequence, contained in the preceding propositions? Since, then, the subject forbids us this rôle, let us finish it, and redeem the promise by which we

bound ourselves at the beginning. Don Pedro de Acuña, now general of the fleet which was assembled in Filipinas, attended at the same time to its despatch and to the safety of the province, which he was about to abandon to go personally upon so stubborn an undertaking. Some attribute the loss of all the Malucas to Don Pedro's good fortune, so that, time offering him greater material, the victory might be more glorious. He provided very diligently what was needed for the war and for almost all the casualties thereof. The point or promontory of Yloilo extends into the sea not far from Arevalo in the island of Panay. It is spacious enough to serve as a camping-place and suitable for those arms then prepared. There the fleet was assembled. It consisted of five large ships, and six galleys; three galliots, like galizabras, belonging to the crown of Portugal – in one of which Pedro Alvarez de Abreo, commandant of the fort of Tydore, embarked, while the other two were in charge of Juan Rodriguez Camelo, a commandant sent from Malaca by General Andres Furtado de Mendoça, to aid with his prudence and his strength, and to carry to him information of the outcome; one flat galliot for unloading artillery, which carried three hundred baskets of rice; four vessels ²⁹⁸ built for transporting the provisions; two ten-ton champans, carrying one thousand six hundred baskets of clean rice; two English lanchas, in which the Portuguese went [to Manila] after the loss of the Tydore fort; seven fragatas belonging to his Majesty, and seven belonging to individuals; and as many other champans – in all thirty-six sail. Master-of-camp Juan de

²⁹⁸ In the text, *funças*; apparently a misprint for *fustas* or for *juncos*.

Esquivel took twelve companies of Spanish infantry, of which four were levied in Andaluzia – namely, his own, that of Captain Pablo Garrucho, that of Pedro Sevil, that of Lucas de Vergara Gaviria; and six in Nueva España, namely, that of Don Rodrigo de Mendoza (this gentleman is the son of Don Juan de Baeça y Castilla and of Doña Maria de Mendoza, and on the latter side grandson to the marques de Montesclaros; and left Italia to serve his Majesty in Filipinas, at the request of the viceroy of Nueva España, his kinsman), the company of Captain Pascual de Alarcon Pacheco, that of Martin de Esquivel, that of Bernardino Alfonso, that of Pedro Delgado, and that of Estevan de Alcaçar. The other two, under Captains Juan Guerra de Cervantes and Christoval de Villagrâ, were from the camp of Manila and the province of Pintados. All of these with their officers amounted to one thousand four hundred and twenty-three Spaniards. Under Master-of-camp Don Guillermo and Captains Don Francisco Palaot, Don Juan Lit, Don Luys, and Don Agustin Lont were three hundred and forty-four Pampanga and Tagál Indians; while there were also six hundred and twenty men from the same tribes for the naval and military service, and six hundred and forty-nine rowers. The entire fleet, exclusive of the household and following of the general, amounted to three thousand and ninety-five men; they had seventy-five pieces of various kinds of artillery, and all the materials for navigating, disembarking, and fighting, and for bombarding walls.

Don Pedro left the port of Yloilo with this armament January five, one thousand six hundred and six, in doubtful weather, but as courageous as ever. He

reached the island of Mindanao, hostile to the Spanish name and allied with the Ternatans, and anchored in the port of La Caldera to take in water. There the flagship, called "Jesus Maria," in which Master-of-camp Esquivel was sailing, began to drag the anchors with which it was moored – an action which the sailors name by the peculiar word *garrar*²⁹⁷ – and, in order to save itself, had to set sail. But finding that it could not double a point in this way, it fired two shots as a call for help, just when the rudder struck. The galleys hastened to give it a tow, but some cables were snapped atwain; and their efforts were in vain, for the sea and winds prevented the work. Captain Villagrà was given charge of the rescue of the men and provisions aboard the flagship. Although many possessions of the king and of private persons were lost, by incredible effort he saved the bulk of the provisions and of the clothing, and all the men, artillery, powder, cables, rigging, and sails. In order that the Mindanaos might not enjoy the spoils of the shipwreck, he set fire to the hull, after taking out the nails and bolts. They felt this first misfortune because of its very importance, and because the soldiers, a class often given to foolish superstitions, interpreted it in a sinister manner. The general's prudence calmed everything. He ordered the master-of-camp to proceed with the fleet from La Caldera to the port of Talangame, which, as we have said, is situated in the island of Ternate. Don Pedro accompanied him

²⁹⁷ A word derived from *garra* (of Old High German origin), signifying "the foot of a bird" or "the paw of a beast;" *i.e.*, the anchor metaphorically "claws" the bottom of the water where it rests, struggling to retain its hold against the force of the wind. See Echegaray's *Diccionario general etimológico* (Madrid, 1887-89).

with his galleys until they got outside the strait of Sambuanga, a place dangerous because of its currents and reefs. For that reason they towed the ships, until this danger was past, and because of a calm that overtook them. The fleet took the open sea. The galleys, in order to take in water enough to last until reaching Ternate, coasted along gradually; for the men rescued from the submerged flagship were distributed in them and in the other boats, and their weight and peril was greater. The most skilful pilots of those seas managed the galleys, but notwithstanding their care and that of the captains and experienced sailors, they fell off their course and reached the islands of the Celebes or of Mateo, more than sixty leguas to the leeward of Ternate. Contrary winds were blowing, and they had to correct their mistake by dint of rowing. In that manner, and with great difficulty, they reached Ternate March twenty-six, on Easter day. With their observance of that day, so propitious to all creation, they forgot their past dangers, and changed them into joy and hope.

[Don Pedro finds the rest of his fleet at Tidore instead of at Ternate, as he has expected; but sees at the latter place a Dutch ship, which shows fight. However, leaving the ship for the present, Acuña sets about the reduction of Ternate with his own forces and those of the king of Tidore. Landing at Ternate April first, that fort is approached in two divisions, meeting with no opposition until they arrive near the walls. Gallinato's advice as to placing the soldiers is followed, and the Ternatan scouts in trees are replaced by those of the besiegers. Active operations begin, and after various minor successes the wall is carried by assault, and the old fortress

built by the Portuguese is captured. On entering the city the soldiers fall to looting.]

When the men entered the city, every one gave himself to his fury and to plundering. Don Pedro had issued a proclamation, conceding that all the enemy captured within those four days should become slaves. The captains halted near the old church of San Pablo, which had been fortified by the enemy for this war. There were various opinions as to what course was to be followed. Some thought that they should attend to preserving what was gained; others that they should go ahead to gain the chief fortress. Captains Vergara and Villagrà were of the latter opinion; and so great was the exuberance of the soldiers and their desire for danger that one of them, a native of Estremadura, of the company of Captain Sevil – who was an Arragonese, and a gallant fighter, who also approved the advice to pass on – seized Captain Villagrà in his arms, and carried him thus for more than ten paces, exclaiming, “O good captain, attack the enemy, attack him!” and then set him down. Thereupon the captain struck him with the flat of his sword, because he had at such a time seized him so impudently. The soldier bowed, and said gracefully and smilingly, “Give me another, by God! [*cuerpo de Dios*] and attack them!” In fact Vergara and Villagrà attacked the principal fortress with few men and gained it, and were the first to enter its gates. However they were not the first to go up, for while they were ascending very quickly by the stairs, at the entrance of the hall an old soldier, named Barela, a corporal to Captain Cervantes, hurried past them. He, on entering, took a gilded water-jar, shaped like an urn and very skil-

fully chased, from a rich side board and salver placed in the hall, saying to the captains, "Gentlemen, I take this in token that I entered here with your Graces." Accordingly he took it, with the consent of all. Then the entire palace was given over to the pillage of the soldiers, and exposed to their greed. Don Pedro tried to restrain them, but was obeyed only near the end of the sack.

[The king of Ternate and a few of his kinsmen, together with the Dutch, escape, the former going to the island of Gilolo. The reduction of the lesser forts continues, and some of the king's relatives who are well affected to the Spanish, offer to induce the king to surrender. This he does after a formal safe-conduct has been given by Acuña. Don Pedro receives him in a manner befitting his rank, and houses him sumptuously, but at the same time keeps him carefully guarded. Several days later a treaty is made with the king.]

Two days after, the governor ordered Master-of-camp Gallinato and Captain Villagrà, together with Pablo de Lima, to confer with the captive king concerning what agreement it was advisable to make with him in his Majesty's name for the security and solidity of matters. They were to persuade him that that was the way to attain merit and oblige our king to make better conditions in his favor. The three came, accompanied by other influential persons, among whom were some Augustinian, Dominican, and Jesuit religious, all of whom served in their ministry praiseworthily. The king did not refuse to capitulate. After some discussion as to what form it should take, through the medium of Pablo de Lima, and after conceding to the king some things that he

requested from the king, our sovereign, they wrote and signed the following agreements:

The first thing demanded from King Cachil Sultan Zayde, of Ternate, and from the rest imprisoned with his Highness who may have any part in it, is that he is to deliver to his Majesty King Filipo, our sovereign, the forts that he now possesses – namely, those of Xilolo, Sabubù, Gamocanora, Tacome, those of Maquien, those of Sula, and the others. He answers to this that he will deliver to his Majesty the forts above declared, and that he will send the prince his son, and Cachil Amuxa, his cousin, with the person or persons who shall go to take possession of them; and that they shall be delivered up with all the artillery, ammunition, muskets, and arquebuses contained in them.

The second. That he shall make restitution of all the captives that he holds, who may be our subjects, whether Christians or infidels, from the provinces of Pintados and from the other provinces subject to the Spaniards in the Filipinas Islands. He answered that all that are found at present shall be delivered up immediately, and that those who do not appear now shall be delivered up as they shall be found later.

The third. That he shall deliver up the Dutch in his power. He replied that when he left this fort of Ternate, thirteen or fourteen Dutchmen with him took to flight, and he thought that they went to the Dutch vessel, for he has not seen them. However, if they appear, he will deliver them up immediately.

The fourth. He shall deliver up the Spanish renegades who were in this fort of Ternate. He answered that there was only one there, and that he fled

like the others the day the fort was taken, and he does not know where he is, but that he shall be sought and delivered up.

The fifth. That he shall also deliver up all the villages in the island of Batochina or El Moro, which were formerly Christian; as well as the islands of Marotay, and Herrao, which were also Christian, with all the artillery and ammunition in them. He answered that he is ready to deliver up everything, as he did with his person.

Don Pedro de Acuña, governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands, president of the royal Audiencia resident therein, and general of this Maluco fleet, entrusted these capitulations to General Juan Xuarez Gallinato and captain Christoval de Villagra. They made them in the form above declared, with the help of Pablo de Lima, a Portuguese native of these islands, who was the interpreter of the [Moro] language. The said king affixed his signature, according to his custom. It was done in the fort of Ternate April ten, one thousand six hundred and six. The said general and captain, and the said Pablo de Lima, also signed it.

The king signed it in Persian characters with graceful curves, and the Spaniards simply. This original agreement was brought to España with the other authentic documents.

[Possession is formally taken of the newly-subdued and of the reconquered territory in the name of the king of Spain; and after consultation it is determined to take the king of Ternate to Manila, leaving governors appointed to carry on his government. All swear homage to the Spanish monarch, and promise not to admit the Dutch or other foreigners to their

clove trade, and not to prevent missionary work. Acuña orders a new fort to be built at Tidore, remits a third part of the tribute to be paid by the Ternatans, and, after strengthening the fort at Ternate, leaves Juan de Esquivel there with six hundred men, boats, ammunition, and supplies, to act as governor of all the Moluccas, while he returns to Manila with his prisoners. Trouble begins immediately, and Esquivel is kept busy with expeditions to the various islands and forts, while the Dutch again begin their machinations; and sickness fights powerfully against the Spaniards. At Mindanao, a conspiracy to escape is discovered among the prisoners, for Mindanao is friendly to the Ternatans. The narrative continues:]

In all the time that we have described, no news of our victory reached Filipinas. From this silence and suspense they argued in those regions, and especially in Manila, that Don Pedro and his fleet had perished, or that he had succeeded so poorly that general sorrow would be caused. Never was virtue free from envious ones who pursue it, and such were not wanting to Don Pedro in Manila. But although these were well known [*some words misprinted in text*]-so that popular suspicion makes them the authors of the poison from which it was believed that that great knight died, twenty-two days after his arrival-we shall suppress their names; since it is unworthy of the author, who has to maintain neutrality (and indifference, in fact) to give strength to a rumor which even yet is based only upon a suspicion. All are now dead, and judged before the tribunal where not one thought passes without examination. These men, then, spread the rumor that Don Pedro, having as-

saulted Ternate, entered it easily; but that his men became so embarrassed in the midst of their great plundering that the barbarians, having reflected, attacked the Spaniards and made them retreat, after killing the majority of them. They said that the general, ashamed of his lack of discipline, did not dare return to Manila. When that report reached the Indians' ears, it did so great harm that they began to rebel, especially in the provinces of Camarines and Pintados. The friars who were already attending to their instruction could do nothing with them, for they asked, since the Malucans were victorious, why they should remain subject to the Spaniards, who did not defend them from the Moros. They said that the latter would, with Ternate's protection, plunder them daily, and worse thenceforward. They did not stop at mere murmurs, for they began to confer concerning them, and to talk of executing their plans. But all vanished before the truth and the news of it, which preceded the arrival of the conquerors. . . .

[The conquerors are given a triumphant reception, and the captives are cheered with hopes of an early release by a decree from Spain, and lodged comfortably. The king of Ternate has a letter written to the Spanish monarch, in which he entreates his clemency. Argensola ends with the reflection that "the Malucos being, then, reduced, our ministers and preachers went thither, and the voice of the evangelist began to be heard in the remotest confines of the land."]

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, by Antonio de Morga.—See Bibliographical Data in VOL. XV.

Conquista de las Islas Malucas, by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola.—This is partly translated in full, partly synopsized, from the original printed work, from the copies owned by Harvard University, and Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago.

APPENDIX: CUSTOMS OF THE PAMPANGAS IN THEIR LAWSUITS

[The following extract forms the second part of a treatise found in the body of *Ordinances enacted by the Audiencia of Manila*, given in VOLS. X and XI. The first part is entitled "Relation of the customs which the Indians were accustomed to observe in these islands; written by Fray Joan de Plasencia, and sent to Doctor Stiago de Vera, former president of the royal Audiencia which resided in these islands." This is signed with Plasencia's name. The second part, headed as below, bears no signature, but is doubtless by Plasencia. From their appearance in the body of the above document, it is probable that the Audiencia considered them in assembly. Both these reports were written by Plasencia at the command of the governor or of the Audiencia, in order that the local Spanish magistrates might be guided by the customs of the natives in deciding matters of law or justice among the Indians. The first part, omitted here, is the same, with a few verbal changes, as the relation published in VOL. VII, pp. 173-185; but it is dated, "Narcán, October twenty-four, one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine" (but this may have been an error of the clerk of the Audiencia). The second part (VOL. VII, pp. 185-196) is not found in the above Audiencia document.]

*Instructions regarding the customs which the natives
of Pampanga formerly observed in their
lawsuits*

They never had anyone whom they all generally obeyed, except that only in each barangay they obeyed their chief, whose people are called timaguas. Among the chiefs, lords of barangay, he who was most powerful tyrannized over the others, even though they were brothers, because they were all intent upon their own interests.

2. In what concerns regulation in regard to supplies for the country, they had none, and everyone bought and sold as he could; beyond that each chief who ruled a barangay ordered his people to sow at the proper time, and made them assist him at seed-time and harvest.

3. The timaguas, or common people, came before their chief with their suits, and he settled them in this way. Whatever petition was made before them, the chief summoned the party on whom the demand was made, and asked him if he would come to an agreement with the other and opposite party. If the two parties made such agreement, there was no suit. If they would not agree, he exacted an oath from them that they would submit to his judgment. Then he immediately asked for a *viva voce* examination of both, because among these people there were no writings in any suits. If both parties gave like testimony, with the same number of witnesses, they split the difference of the amount of the suit. If the number of witnesses was not equal on either side, such and such a one was condemned to the whole amount, or released from the claim. If the defeated party would not pay according to the sentence, the other party

and the judge proceeded against him with the armed hand, and forced him to comply with it. The witnesses were paid according to their rank, and the judge also. The payment of the judge and witnesses was so excessive, that they shared equally with him who won in the suit. The witnesses of the condemned party were paid nothing; and if anything had been given to them before the decision of the suit, it was taken back from them.

4. *Item*: In regard to any murders that occurred, they ruled in this wise. If one chief killed another chief, the relatives and friends of the murdered man went to war immediately with the murderer and his kindred; and if they killed the murderer, the quarrel and difference between them was ended. If not, they killed as many as possible of his followers. After these parties had grown weary of their strife, and a certain time had elapsed after the murder, the other chiefs of the village or district endeavored to reconcile them. The reconciliation was as follows. The murderer was to give and pay to the relatives of the murdered man seventy or eighty taes of gold; and if he were a prominent chief, one hundred or more. Then they all remained friends, and one half was divided among the children of the murdered man, if he had any, or his parents, brothers, or kindred; and the other half among those chiefs who reconciled them, and the timaguas of the murdered man's barangay, although the chiefs took the greater part. If the children or relatives of the deceased refused to be reconciled, all the chiefs proceeded against them, and assisted the party of the murderer until the said agreement was completed.

5. In case any timagua killed any chief or his

child, the relatives of the deceased put the murderer to death, together with his wife and children, if they succeeded in catching him. They seized all his property, which they divided among the children of the murdered man, if he had any, and if not, among his parents, relatives, or brothers; and if he had no kindred, among those who executed the vengeance for the murder, this usually being his successor in the barangay.

6. If the murdered man was a timagua, and the murderer a chief, the latter gave to the children or heirs of the murdered man the sum of ten to twenty taes of gold; but if the murdered man had no heirs, it was divided between the judge passing sentence – who was one of the chiefs, appointed by the others of the village for the purpose – and among the said chiefs, the judge taking one half and the others the other half. Of this they gave no part to the murderer, even though he was a chief.

7. *Item*: If one timagua killed another timagua, and had nothing with which to pay the penalty – ten to twenty taes of gold – all the chiefs of the village killed him for it, if his own chief did not do this, by hanging him to a tree or *arigue* [*i. e.*, prop of a house] or piercing him with many lance-thrusts.

8. If any woman killed any man, or another woman, by poison or steel or any other way, the judgment was in conformity with the one above, with consideration for the said conditions.

9. If a brother killed a brother or an uncle, or a nephew his uncle, he did not die for it; but they took all his property away from him for the heirs of the murdered man, of which they gave no share to the murderer, even though he should be an heir.

This was determined by the chief of the barangay to which the murderer and the murdered belonged, if each party were of his barangay. The chiefs of the barangay were judges, and shared with the heirs of the deceased.

10. Concerning the murder of a child by a father, or a father by a child, no precise information could be secured regarding the punishment, because all asserted that they never remembered such a murder to have happened.

11. In case of the burning of any village or crops, if the incendiary was a chief, he paid for all the damage caused by the fire – which the chiefs of such town and those nearest it determined – according to the amount of the damage, even though they did not leave the chief who set the fire one mais of gold. If the damage did not exceed his property, and he had some property left over, he retained it. If the incendiary were a timagua, he was executed, and his goods were seized to repair the damage. If these did not suffice to pay for it, they sold his wife and children as slaves, to pay for the said damage.

12. Concerning thieves: If the thief were a chief, he returned the plunder, and was fined in proportion to the theft, according to the opinion of one of the chiefs of the village, whom the other chiefs selected as judge for that purpose. They say that they ordinarily appointed the oldest and the most intelligent. The latter could moderate the penalty, which was divided between the judge and the other chiefs, the judge taking one half.

13. If a timagua or slave committed a theft: If the thief were a timagua, they compelled him to return his booty, and fined him according to the reg-

ulations of the preceding section. If he had nothing with which to pay, they sold him in another village, in order to pay what he owed, as a penalty for the theft. If the thief were a slave, his master paid for him, or delivered the said slave to the party, and he was soundly lashed. If the owner of the said stolen goods caught the thief in the act of such robbery, he could kill or beat him without any penalty.

14. As for the old men, old women, and witches who committed murders by any of their practices, when it was ascertained that they had killed any person with their witchcraft or tricks, the chief of their barangay, or of the barangay of the murdered man, could kill them with daggers if he pleased; and if these chiefs did not do this, any of the other chiefs could kill the criminals. Their property was seized, and one half was given to the relatives of the murdered man, and the other half to him who executed the sentence upon such sorcerers and witches.

15. Insulting words caused great anger among these natives, and it was considered a very grave offense, especially among the chiefs. They fined the culprits in heavy sums therefor, inflicting this penalty in order not to cause murders, and in the following manner. The insulted person and he who insulted him named a chief, who must be greater than those in the whole province, to hear this suit, who accepted and decided it. If either of the two parties refused to conform to the agreement which the judge prescribed, there was a custom among them that each one lavished expense, on his own account, on feasts and assemblies, and he who spent the greater sum they considered the more powerful and honorable. From these debaucheries and gatherings sometimes

resulted wars between them. If either one of the two was the most considerable chief of the province, three or four, chosen by the rest, judged the case. In case the injurious words were said by a timagua to a chief, if the said timagua had nothing wherewith to pay the penalty imposed – which was very excessive – he was made a slave; and if the insulted party were a great chief, the timagua's wife and children were made slaves. If the chief applied insulting words to any timagua, the penalty was very light, and many times nothing.

16. Their marriage custom was to have one wife – from whom they would separate and marry another, on any occasion or change of feeling – and to have three or four other women. They always considered that one the legitimate wife with whom they naturally cohabited. The man always gave the dowry, and this, together with certain gatherings in which they drank, was considered marriage. If the man separated from his wife, he lost the dowry which he had given her. If she separated from the man, she returned double the dowry which she had received, even though she had children. The property acquired during marriage, they always divided equally. They never disinherited the children in life or death, even though they were born of many women, if they had been married to these. The other children, born of other women, whom we call bastards, they called *asiao yndepat*. These did not inherit, but they always gave them something. Even if any one had no legitimate child at his death, the bastard could not inherit at all, but the property went to the nearest relatives of the deceased.

17. They were not accustomed to will more to

any child, except in small sums, as three or four taes, or small pieces of land of the like value.

18. When anyone became a widower and no children had been born to the husband and wife, the whole dowry was returned. But if any sons or daughters had been born to them, even though these were dead at the time of bereavement, not more than half the dowry was returned.

19. If any child were living at the time of the death of the father or mother, all the property of the deceased was inherited by the child or children. If they were not old enough to administer it, the parents of the deceased kept and used it, and not the surviving father or mother of the minors. If the minor died afterward, neither the father nor the mother inherited it, but the minor's grandparents, or the nearest relatives of the deceased from whom the minor had inherited the property.

20. Among the slaves, the father and mother shared equally. If both were slaves of one master, the children were so also. If one slave belonged to one master and the other to another, the children were divided in this way. The master of the father took the eldest, the master of the mother, the second; and so on in this order with the rest. If there were an odd one, the two masters of the parents divided him; that is, the slave served both masters equally. If either the father or mother were free, the children were divided in the same way, so that if the father was free, the eldest son or daughter was free. On the contrary, if the father was a slave, the eldest son or daughter was a slave. This arrangement was kept and observed among them, namely, to give an equal share to both the father and mother. If one of them

was free or half-free, they gave his part to him and to his children in proportion to the amount which fell to his lot.

21. If any chiefs wrangled over their cultivated lands, they came before the other chiefs of the village; and these tried them, and received testimony orally from both sides, under oath, according to their usage – which was swearing by the crocodile, the sun, the moon, and many other things by which they swore. In conformity with the evidence of each one, the suit between the said chiefs was decided; and if either one of them refused to comply with the sentence, all the chiefs together compelled him to observe it. This order was adhered to in this matter.

22. All the aforesaid information I have endeavored to procure from the oldest inhabitants of this province, and from all the priors of the province. If it be not set forth in a style as good as I ought to use, I beg your Lordship to pardon its defects, for the sake of my good will, etc.

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